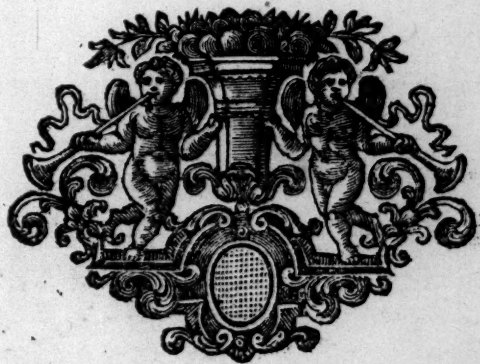


MISCELLANEOUS
TRACTS: 2.L.b.
IN
THREE VOLUMES.

By MICHAEL GEDDES, *Doctor of Laws,*
and Chancellor of the Church of Sarum.

THE THIRD EDITION.



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MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS:

VIZ.

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By MICHAEL GEDDES, *Doctor of Laws,*
and *Chancellor of the Church of Sarum.*

VOL. I.



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Printed in the Year M D C C X X X.

MISCELLANEOUS

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By Michael Carter, Pastor of the
First Church of the
City of New York

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THE PREFACE.

THO' the general Expulsion of the Moriscoes out of Spain was one of the greatest Revolutions of this Age; yet thro' the short Accounts that are given of it in the general Histories of that Kingdom, and thro' the Books which have been publish'd in Spanish concerning it being all out of Print, and hard to be come at; it is so little known, that I cannot say that I have met with many among the Curious in History, that knew much more of it, than that it happen'd at such a time, and that Spain was thereby much depopulated and impoverish'd; being altogether in the dark, as to the Pretences whereon it was executed, and by whom, and by what Methods it was promoted; and in a word, as to most of its material Circumstances.

Wherefore, that so great and useful a Piece of History may not be in a manner lost in this Part of the World, after having with no small Trouble procured all, or most of the Books that were ever printed concerning this tragical Expulsion, I did set my Self to write as full an Account of it as the said Books

The PREFACE.

would help me to, and having finish'd it, I was the more forward to make it publick, believing it might be of great use to our own, and to all other Protestant Governments, not to imitate, what God, and Policy do forbid; but that detesting its Barbarity and Inhumanity, they may be warned by it to be always on their Guard against an indefatigable Enemy, who, though he may promise, does never give Quarter; and with whom a Protestant, a Jew, and a Mahometan, are all one and the same; no Cruelties being thought great enough for any of them, if they will not believe as the Roman Church believeth.

And though I cannot but be sensible, that this Work might have been done to more Advantage, by most that pretend to write History, had they had the same Conveniencies, I can nevertheless affirm, That as to all Matters of Fact, it could not have been done by any with more Faithfulness. And as to the Reflections I have made on such Matters, I shall only say, That had I not thought them to be just, I should never have publish'd 'em; but whether they are so, or not, the Readers must judge, to whose Candor I commit them.

THE

(I)

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
EXPULSION
OF THE
MORISCOES
OUT OF
SPAIN.

THE taking of the City of *Granada*, by King *Ferdinand* of *Aragon*, and Queen *Isabel* of *Castile*, in the Year 1492. though it put an end to the *Moorish* Government in *Spain*, where it had lasted above 700 Years, yet it did not clear the Country of the *Moors*:

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The Body of the People, not only of the Kingdom of *Granada*, but of that of *Valentia* likewise, though conquer'd by the *Christians*, in the Year 1236. and of *Murcia*, conquer'd by them in the Year 1265. being of that Race; besides great Numbers of them scatter'd all over *Castile*, *Estramadura*, *Aragon*, *Catalonia*, &c. All these *Moors* did continue to keep themselves a distinct People from the *Spaniards*, by an obstinate Adherence, not only to the Language, Habit and Customs of their Ancestors, but to their Religion likewise, which was the *Mahometan*; few or none of them, in a long series of Years, having been converted to the Christian Faith by all that the *Spanish* Friars could do or say to them: the *Mahometans*, of whatsoever Nation, through their being all taught from their Infancy, to value themselves extreamly upon their Religion, for its being the reigning Religion in so many great Empires, and to despise all that are not of it, as little better than Dogs; being in truth a stubborn sort of Creatures to convert; and especially to a Sect that adores Images, for which they have all an invincible Aversion.

The *Spanish* Princes being sensible, how dangerous a thing it was, by Reason of their near Neighbourhood to *Barbary*, to have

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have so many *Moors* in their Dominions, and especially on the Coast of the *Mediterranean*, where most of 'em lived, were at a loss what to do with them: To have murdered them all in cool Blood, was a thing that would have filled the World with Horror; and to banish them all into *Barbary*, would be to depopulate their own Countries, and to strengthen their Enemies by an Accession of so many thousands of Families; the thing therefore that they did most earnestly desire and pursue, was to make them all Christians, knowing, that if that were once done effectually, it would extinguish all Affection in them for the *Moors of Barbary*; and in case of an Invasion from thence, would make them no less zealous than their Neighbours, to defend *Spain*. For which Reason, the *Spanish* Kings and Nobles were continually calling upon the Ecclesiasticks, to convert their *Moorish* Subjects and Vassals to Christianity, telling them among other things, to quicken them to the Work, that it was a great Reproach to the Christian Faith, that it should not, where it had so many and great Advantages over *Mahometism*, be able to conquer it.

The Friars, on the other side, who went only by Starts, and preached a few Sermons to these Infidels, being very angry
with

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with them, because they would not be converted by them; did represent them as a most obstinate and obdurate sort of People, who were not to be overcome with Arguments, nor by any other than violent Methods: They did therefore all along advise their Princes either to banish the *Moors*, or to make them all Slaves, if they would not turn Christians; or at least, to take all their Children from them, and baptize them; by which Means the next Generation would be all *Christians*.

But these Methods being reckoned by all that were not piqu'd by the *Moors*, having affronted them by their not having turned *Christians*, upon their preaching to them, to be very hard, if not unlawful ways of converting Infidels to the Faith; the Council of *Toledo* having expressly forbid the forcing of Infidels to be baptized; and *Thomas Aquinas*, and most of their other Divines having declared it not to be lawful to baptize the Children of Infidels without their Parents Consent; these Methods were not used at this time. But besides that, it was extremely scandalous to use such violent Methods with the *Moors*, who, when they were regnant, had never forced any of their Christian Subjects to change their Religion, but had always allowed them the publick Exercise of their
Worship:

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Worship: and further, King *Ferdinand*, when the City of *Granada* was surrendered to him, had engaged himself by an Oath, if the *Moors* had a mind to remain in *Spain*, not to give them any Disturbance on the account of their Religion, but to let them enjoy it with the same Freedom as they had done under their own Princes.

For the first seven Years after the taking of *Granada*, we do not find that the *Moors* were much persecuted by the *Spaniards*, to oblige them to change their Religion, their Conversion having been left by *Ferdinand*, according to his Oath, to the Arguments and Persuasions of the Archbishop, and other Ecclesiastics he had settled among them in great numbers, and without giving them Authority to make use of any Violence.

But *Ferdinand* being under no such Engagement to the *Jews*, who were likewise very numerous in *Spain* at that time, he did, within three Months after the taking of the City of *Granada*, by a publick Edict, command all the *Jews*, if they would not be baptized, to depart with their Families within four Months out of all his Dominions, upon Pain of Death: Which most of them did; some going into *Italy*, others to *Turkey* and *Barbary*; but the main Body of them went into *Portugal*; where, for a great Sum of Money, they obtained leave

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of King *John* II. to continue for some Months, until they could be provided with Ships to carry them off. But notwithstanding, the Reason why they did not leave *Portugal* within the time prefix'd, was, that the King would not suffer any Ships to take them aboard; and by Land they durst not go, the *Spaniard* having made it Death for any of them to return into his Dominions; they were all, so soon as that Term was expired, strip'd by the King of all their Goods, and sold to his Subjects for Slaves.

King *Emanuel*, who succeeded *John*, reckoning it to have been both an unjust and dishonourable thing that his Predecessor had done to the *Jews*, he set them all at Liberty again; but at the same time, commanded them all, upon pain of perpetual Servitude, either to be baptized within a certain Term of Months, or to leave *Portugal*; promising, That Ships should be provided for all that would depart, at the three chief Ports of his Kingdom. The *Jews* who had all left *Spain*, where they and their Ancestors had lived for a great many Generations, because they would not turn *Christians*, did intend to have left *Portugal* for the same Reason; and did accordingly repair, with their Families, to the Ports appointed for their Embarkation; where,

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where, instead of Ships to carry them off, they met with a Proclamation, prohibiting them, upon pain of Death, to embark any where but at *Lisbon*: To which City, when they were all come with their Families, the King commanded all their Children, that were under fourteen Years of Age, to be taken from them, and to be baptized by Force: With which unexpected Violence, several Parents were so enrag'd, that they threw their Children that were under that Age into the River, and into Wells, and themselves after them. But the time appointed for their Embarkation being expired, and no Ships being permitted to take any of them aboard, they did, rather than be made Slaves again, consent to be baptized.

The *Jews*, who were at this time baptiz'd in this manner, are reckoned to have been above three hundred thousand Men, Women and Children: And whereas few, if any of them, were in their Hearts Christians, when they were thus forc'd to receive Baptism; so great numbers of their Descendents do, to this day, in *Portugal*, continue to breed up their Children in the *Jewish* Religion notwithstanding the unintermitting Cruelties, which have ever since been exercis'd by the Inquisition, upon all who have been convicted of having returned to that Faith.

This

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This Dispersion of the *Spanish Jews* is reckoned by all of that Nation and Religion to have been, both as to Hardships, and as to their Numbers, nothing inferior to that which follow'd upon the Destruction of *Jerusalem*; above eight hundred thousand Men, Women and Children having been driven out of *Spain* at this time. But to return to the *Moors*.

In the Year 1499, *Ferdinand* and *Isabel* having returned to visit their new Conquests, did find, that in the seven Years the *Granada Moors* had been under their Government, few or none of them had been converted to Christianity; whereupon they sent to the Archbishop of *Toledo*, who at that time was the famous *Ximenes*, to come to them at *Granada*; who being arrived, they charged him, as he had any regard for the Honour of the Christian Religion, the Salvation of thousands of Souls, and the Security of *Spain*, to take some Course or other to convert their *Moorish* Subjects to the Christian Faith; who, as they were informed, were no less *Mahometans* than they were when they lived under Kings of their own Religion. *Ximenes*, who was a Man that would not be easily baffled in any thing that he undertook, begun that great Work with courting and caressing the chief Men among the *Moors*,
and

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and having by rich Presents, and greater Promises, persuaded some of the first Quality among them to turn Christians, their Examples were followed by a considerable Number of the inferior sort. The *Moors* both in the City and Country being much alarmed and displeased with those Conversions, several of their principal Men, with whom the Archbishop had not been able to prevail, did go about to persuade their Kindred and others, neither to be flattered nor bribed out of the Religion of their Forefathers. The Archbishop, so soon as he heard of those Counterworkings, *laying all Humanity*, saith the Writer of his Life, *almost aside*, he commanded all those Zealots to be apprehended; and having loaded them with Irons, he ordered them to be thrown into Dungeons, and to be treated in them as the greatest of Malefactors. Among these Zealots, there was one named *Zagri*, who was of a noble Family, and had been in a high Command in Armies; and who, among his other Exploits, had in his younger Days fought hand to hand with *Gonzalo* the Great Captain: The Archbishop reckoning, that if he were but able to subdue *Zagri's* high Spirit, so far as to make him turn Christian, none among the *Moors* would after that dare to oppose him in his Conversions: He committed him to
the

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Custody of one of his own Chaplains, named *Leoni*, a Man of a fierce and cruel Disposition; in whose keeping *Zagri* had not been many Days, before he begged of his Keeper to be permitted to speak with the Archbishop: Which having been granted, *Zagri*, when he appeared before him, desired that his Irons might be knocked off, that he might deliver his Mind with the more Freedom; which having been done, he declared; *That he had been commanded the Night before in a Dream, to turn Christian*; adding at the same time with a Smile, *I am not such a Block-head as to want any more Arguments to persuade me to that, besides those I have had given me by that terrible Lion of your Lordship's*; alluding to his Keeper's Name; to whom, said *Zagri*, *let my Countrymen be but committed for so many Days, as I have been, and I will undertake they shall all be converted by him to Christianity*; intimating, how barbarously he had been used by *Leoni*. The Archbishop being overjoyed at his having thus converted *Zagri*, commanded him to be led out, and washed; and having cloathed him in Scarlet, he baptized him himself, calling him by the Name of *Gonzalo Ferdinando*, the Great Captain, who was at that time in *Granada*; and settling a Pen-
sion

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sion on him of 5000 Crowns yearly, for his Life; the other *Moorish* Prisoners being no more able than *Zagri*, to withstand *Leon's* Arguments, did yield, and were baptized likewise by the Archbishop; who after this commanded all the *Moors* to deliver their *Alcorans*, and all their other *Arabick* Books to him: Which having been done, he ordered all the Books that treated of Philosophy and Medicine to be preserved, burning all the rest in the Market-place of the City to the great Mortification of the *Moors* who had not changed their Religion: And being resolved to make his Harvest as great as it was possible, he commanded the Children of all the *Moors*, who were called *Elkes*, to be taken from them, and baptized; upon pretence, that their Ancestors were anciently Christians, who had apostatized to the *Mahometan Sect*.

While the Archbishop was going on thus triumphantly with his Conversions, the *Moors*, who were enraged thereby almost to Madness, took up Arms; and having first barricado'd the Streets of the City, they marched in a great Body to the House where the Archbishop lodg'd; who having sent one of his Servants to them, to know what it was they desired; they sent him word, that they desired, that the Articles whereon they had surrendr'd the City to

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the King, might be observed; and particularly, that of their having no Trouble given 'em on the account of their Religion, which they would sooner die than part with. The Archbishop returned a very mild and favourable Answer to this Message, and continued to give them good Words and large Promises of what he would do for them, until the *Count de Tondale* Governor of the Citadel came to his Relief; who having, with very little Bloodshed, dispersed the *Moors*, the Archbishop would not treat with them any longer but as with Rebels, who had forfeited not only all the Benefits of their Capitulation, but their Lives also, by the late Uproar.

The first News that the King and Queen, who were then at *Sevil*, had of this Insurrection, made it to be a great deal worse than it was; that News was, That the *Moors*, provok'd by the Violences used by the Archbishop, to force them to change their Religion, had rebelled, and made themselves Masters of the whole City of *Granada*; and no Advice coming from the Archbishop, through the Negligence of the Courier, by whom he had sent his Letters, his Conduct was severely censured by the whole Court, but especially by the King himself; who not having as yet digested the Affront the Queen had put upon him, in
making

making *Ximenes* Archbishop of *Toledo*, tho' he had begg'd it earnestly of her for his Natural Son *Alphonso* of *Aragon*, Archbishop of *Saragossa*; he bid her with Indignation, *See what her hot-heated Ximenes had done, having by his violent and obstinate Folly lost a Place in a few Weeks, which had cost Spain so much Sweat and Blood.* But Advice coming soon after, That the Insurrection was quelled, the King dispatch'd Judges to *Granada*, to condemn all the *Moors*, who had been any ways concern'd in the Tumult, as Traitors; and having first condemned them, to offer them their Lives, if they would turn Christians: Which Order having been executed by the Judges, fifty thousand *Moors*, Inhabitants of the City of *Granada*, purchased their Lives by consenting to be baptized: By which Means the Archbishop, when he went from *Granada*, did not leave one profess'd *Mahometan* in that City; tho' it was reasonably believ'd, that he had not made one true Convert all the time he was there.

The Bishop of *Granada*, to whom the Instructions of *Ximenes's* Converts in the *Christian* Faith was left, ordered the *Psalms*, the *Gospels*, and the *Epistles* to be translated into *Arabick* for their Use; for which Method of Instruction that Bishop was much blam'd by *Ximenes*, who thereupon

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declar'd, *That whensoever the Bible should come to be translated into Vulgar Tongues, it would be of pernicious Consequence to Christianity.*

The great Violences that had been used with the *Moors* of the City of *Granada*, to force them to turn *Christians*, did so alarm the *Moors* in the Country, who expected it would be their turn quickly to be treated in the same manner, that they fortified themselves among the Mountains, where they lived, being resolved rather to die *Mahometans* with their Swords in their Hands, than to be forc'd to be baptiz'd, as their Countrymen had been in the City: but before they were able to form their Militia, and fortify their Houses, the Captain and the Count *de Tindel* were upon 'em with an Army of *Veteran* Troops; and without breaking Ground, having taken *Huyar*, or the most considerable Town among the Mountains, by Assault, did put all the *Moors*, Men, Women and Children that they found in it, to the Sword; expecting that the Terror thereof would have reduced all the *Moors* that were in Arms to Obedience; which it was so far from doing, that the News thereof made them fortify themselves, in all places, and helped them to a much greater Army than they could otherwise have raised.

The

of the Moriscoes out of Spain. 15

The *Moors* being now too strong for the great Captain, with the Army he had with him, to deal with; the King in Person marched against them, and with the Troops he brought with him, being joined with those of the Great Captain, he did in a short time reduce *Sanaiarra, Almeria, Baccas, Guadie*, and all the other *Moorish* Towns that were in Arms; obliging all the Inhabitants, as fast as he reduced them, to purchase their Lives by consenting to be baptized. And whereas there were still great Numbers of *Moors* in Arms among the Mountains, which were not accessible to an Army, the King set forth a Proclamation, commanding them all upon pain of Death to lay down their Arms, and to remove, with their Families, into the Kingdom of *Castile*, where Dwellings should be provided for them: but the *Moors* being sensible, that if the *Spaniards* had them once out of their Fastnesses, they would either force them to turn *Christians*, or cut all their Throats; they sent some Commissioners to the King, to desire, that since they could not be suffer'd to enjoy their Religion in *Spain*, they might be transported to *Barbary* offering to pay ten Dollars a Head for every one that embark'd: The King, who was in great want of Money, having agreed to this, several thousands of the

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Moors embarked aboard a Fleet that the King had provided for them at *Estopona*, but a great many more were left behind for want of Money to pay for their Passage, who were all forced to be baptized: So that in a few Months, above two hundred thousand Men, Women, and Children were converted by the King and the Archbishop of *Toledo*, from the *Mahometan* to the *Christian* Profession: I say Profession, because it is more than probable, that there was scarce one in all that vast Number that was truly converted to the *Christian* Faith; or, if any were, it must have been by immediate Divine Inspiration, and not by outward Instruction, which few or none of them had ever had.

The Inquisition, which had not at that time been erected into such a Court as it is now, above twenty Years, looking upon all these forced Baptisms as good and valid, did exercise all its usual Cruelties on such of the *Moors* as were convicted of having returned to *Mahometism*, which few or none of them had ever left with their Hearts.

No fewer than an hundred thousand, living and dead, present and absent, had been condemned for Apostacy by the Inquisition of *Sevil*, in the space of forty Years: of which number four thousand were

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were burnt, and thirty thousand were reconciled; the rest having made their Escape into *Barbary*, upon their fears that they were in danger of being taken up by that Court.

Through this great Inquisition-Desolation, *Garibai* saith three, *Ilescas* saith five thousand Houses were left void, and without Inhabitants, within the Districts of the Inquisition of *Sevil*: Of which great Desolation, Complaint having been made by the Owners of those Houses to the King, most of the Counsellors of State were of Opinion, that the Inquisition was not to be suffered to make such terrible Havock of the People; telling the King plainly, that if a stop were not put to the Fury of that Court, it would in a short time turn *Spain* into a perfect Desert. But the King not seeming to be at all moved by these Remonstrances, a great Sum of Money, of which he stood in great need at that time, was offered, if he would consent to the putting down of the Inquisition, which, contrary to the Rules of all good Policy, had been erected by him in *Spain*: To which Proposition the King having seem'd to lend an Ear, *Thomas de Turrecremata*, a *Dominican* Frier, who, for having modell'd the Court of Inquisition as it was then, and has been ever since in *Spain*, was made the

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first Inquisitor-General, when he heard thereof posted away to Court; and having, so soon as he arrived, obtain'd an Audience of the King and Queen, he pulled a Crucifix from under his Habit before he spoke a Word, and holding it forth to 'em, said, *I am not a Stranger to the Bargain that is going on here: Our Blessed Saviour, Christ Jesus, was sold by the wretched Judas for thirty Pieces of Silver; if you reckon that Judas did well in selling him to his Enemies, you may follow his Example, and sell him for a great deal more; but that I may not seem to have any Hand in such an abominable Bargain, I do here lay down my Authority, and do you answer to God for what will be the Consequence of it;* with which free and passionate Expostulation the King and Queen were so deeply touch'd, that none durst after that ever speak to either of 'em one word against the Inquisition, or concerning the Desolations that were made by it, in all the Kingdoms of *Spain*.

The News of the great Cruelties exercised on the *Moors* of *Granada* by the *Spaniards*, to force them to turn *Christians*, having been carried to *Grand Cairo*, together with a Copy of the Articles whereon *Granada* had been surrendered to *Ferdinand*; the Soldan and his *Mamalukes* were so enraged thereat, that they threatned to treat
all

of the Moriscoes out of Spain. 19

all the *Christians*, but particularly the *Latin Christians* at *Jerusalem*, after the same manner as the *Spaniards* had, contrary to their Oaths, treated the *Mahometans* that were their Subjects.

Ferdinand having receiv'd Advice of the Danger the *Latin Christians* in *Egypt*, and other *Eastern* Countries were in, by reason of what he had done to the *Moors*; he immediately dispatch'd the learned *Peter Martyr*, with the Character of his Ambassador, to the Soldan, to satisfy him of his having observed the Capitulations he had made with the *Moors*, and of his having never forced any of them to change their Religion. *Peter Martyr* being arrived at *Grand Cairo*, did with great difficulty obtain a private Audience by Night of the Soldan, who durst not, for fear of the *Mamalukes*, give him one publicly; at which Audience, in conformity to what is said of an Ambassador, *being one sent to lie abroad for his Master's Service*, *Peter* did assure the Soldan that all that he had been told of his Master's having broke his Oath with the *Moors*, in having persecuted them to make them turn *Christians*, was notoriously false; his Master and Mistress being too good *Christians* themselves, to do a thing that was so contrary to their Religion, as the forcing of People by Severity to embrace

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it: He told him further, that it was true, that most of the *Granada Moors*, since they had been Subjects to his Master, had been baptized, but that not one of them had been forced to receive that Sacrament, it not being lawful for *Christians* to administer it to any that did not earnestly and freely desire it.

But whether the Soldan, who with his Empire was quickly after that destroyed by the *Turks*, was satisfied or not with what the *Spanish* Ambassador had told him, of none of the *Moors* having been forced to receive Baptism; it is certain that several *Spanish* Divines were so sensible of their having been compelled to receive that Sacrament, that they declared their Baptism to be null and void, and to have been a great Profanation of that Sacrament.

During the remaining part of the Reign of *Ferdinand* and *Isabel*, and the whole Reign of *Charles V.* we hear little more of the *Granada Moriscoes*, as the *Spaniards* called them, to distinguish them from the *Moors* of *Barbary*, than that they did universally continue to be *Mahometans*, and that with an extraordinary Aversion to *Christianity*: Which Aversion was rather encreased than lessen'd in them, by the great Preachers, who were from time to time sent among them to instruct them; and by the
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of the Moriscoes out of Spain. 21

the Inquisition's burning great Numbers of them every Year for having apostatized, if they may be truly said to have apostatized from *Christianity*, who, tho' forced to profess it, had never believed it, as all, or most of them that were put to death, declared at the Stake when they came to die.

Thus the Friars went on preaching, and the Inquisitors went on burning the *Moriscoes*, until the Year 1568. When *Philip II.* having been assured from all hands, that unless some other courses were taken to reconcile the *Granada Moriscoes* to the *Christian* Faith, they would continue *Mahometans* to the end of the World, and being a very fruitful People, and under none of those Restraints from Marriage, which great numbers of the old *Christians* were under, they would in a few Generations fill the Kingdom of *Granada* with People of that Sect: The King, with the Advice of his Council, and some of the wisest among the Ecclesiasticks, did publish the following Laws, in order to extinguish in the *Moriscoes* the Memory of their being descended of the *Moors*; the Memory whereof was truly reckoned to contribute not a little to their Obstinacy in the Religion of that Nation.

I. ' That

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1. ' That it should not be lawful for any
' in the Kingdom of *Granada* to wear the
' *Moorish* Habit, which was described in the
' Law.

2. ' That it should not be lawful for any
' in that Kingdom to observe the Customs of
' the *Moors*; several of which Customs were
' particularised.

3. ' That it should not be lawful for any
' in that Kingdom to speak *Arabick*, or to
' teach their Children that Language: All
' which things they were commanded to
' observe, upon Pain of Death.

The King being sensible that the *Moriscoes* would be highly provoked by the strict execution of these Laws, which, tho' in their own Nature civil, had a natural tendency, and were designed to extinguish in them their Love for *Mahometism*; he did at the same time command the *Moriscoes* to be all disarmed, and not to be suffered to have Places or Houses of any Strength; or to assemble any where together in great numbers.

The *Moriscoes*, who reckoned that there was something of Religion in every thing they had in common with the *Moors*, and which were not in use among the *Spaniards*, being extremely uneasy under the rigorous execution of these Laws, sent some Commissioners privately to the *Grand Seignior*,
and

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and to the *Moors* in *Barbary*, to acquaint them with the Cruelties which were exercised upon them by the *Spaniards*, on the account of their being *Mussulmans*; and with the Laws which had been lately imposed upon them, with an intention of extinguishing the *Mahometan* Faith in *Spain*; beseeching those Princes, in the Name of their great and common Prophet, to find out some way to oblige the *Spaniards* to suffer them to enjoy their Religion quietly, according to the Capitulation whereon the City of *Granada* had been surrendred to them; by which Agreement, the *Spaniards* were bound by Oath not to give them any Disturbance on that account, nor to deny them the use of publick *Moschs*, for the free exercise of their Worship. Upon these Complaints of the *Moriscoes*, 800 *Turks* are said to have been sent, with a great quantity of Arms and Ammunition, into the Kingdom of *Granada*; but we are neither told from what Port they came, nor at what Port they were landed; but that upon their being got among the Mountains of *Granada*, the *Moors* did flock to them from all parts, in such numbers, that in a very short time they had formed a considerable Army, and had so fortified all the Passages of the Mountains, that it was not possible for any Force, that was not much superior
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to theirs, to offend them. We are told farther, that they were no sooner in Arms than they did all renounce the Profession of the Christian Religion; declaring, That they were, and had always been, true *Mahometans* in their Hearts; and were now resolved to spend the last drop of their Blood in the maintenance of that Sect; and that they did not only turn all their Churches into *Moschs*, but did also, in great Triumph, burn all the Hosts, Images and Reliques that they found in them, killing a great many of the Priests and Friars, which had been planted among them, to convert them, which has occasion'd a great swelling of the *Spanish Martyrology*.

So soon as the King heard of the *Moriscoes* being in Arms, the Marquess of *Mondejar*, Governor of the City of *Granada*, was ordered with all the Troops he could get together, to march against them; and though that Marquess did beat them in most of the Skirmishes he had with them, yet in 18 Months time he was neither able to conquer them, nor to starve them among the Mountains, by keeping Provisions from going to them; both the *Turks* and the *Moors* being People that can live upon simple and very little Food.

of the Moriscoes out of Spain. 25

The King fearing lest the *Moriscoes*, if they kept the Field much longer, might be reinforced, and supply'd with Provisions and Ammunition, either by the *Turks*, or by the *Moors*, did send a considerable and well disciplin'd Army against them, under the Command of his Brother *Don John of Austria*, with orders to attack them vigorously on all sides; which was done so briskly by that young Prince, that in a few Weeks, though with the loss of a great many Men, among whom was his Governor *Don Lewis Quixada*, he did not leave a *Moriscoe* any where in Arms. The *Moriscoes* being thus totally subdu'd, were all with their Families removed out of the Kingdom of *Granada*, where it was easy for them to hold a Correspondence with the *Moors* of *Barbary*, and dispersed over the Kingdom of *Castile*, and some other inland Provinces, in which they and their Posterity continued until the time of their general Expulsion.

In this *Moriscoe* War, which lasted about two Years, above twenty thousand *Spaniards* are said to have been killed. Having nothing more to write of the *Granada Moriscoes*, from the time of their having been all transplanted into *Castile*, until the time of their general Expulsion, in the Year 1610; but that notwithstanding all the Diligence and Cruelties which were used to reconcile

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reconcile them to *Christianity*, they and their Posterity did still continue as much *Mahometans* in their Hearts as ever they had been.

I do now pass to the *Moriscoes* of the Kingdoms of *Valentia* and *Aragon*, who had all continued profess'd *Mahometans* for three hundred Years after they were conquered by the Christians; and who having been all baptized by an extreme Force, did remain *Mahometans* in their Hearts until they were all expelled *Spain*.

James King of *Aragon*, by whom *Valentia* was conquer'd in the Year 1236, finding that he could not, without depopulating his Conquests, turn the *Moors* out of it, commanded the Ecclesiasticks to set earnestly about the converting them to *Christianity*, as well to save their Souls, as to make them good Subjects to a *Christian* Prince; which he reckoned they could never be, so long as they remained *Mahometans*: And since few of the *Moriscoes* understood any Tongue but the *Arabick*, he desired the *Friers* to study that Language, to be able to preach in it to the *Moriscoes*: And to encourage that Study, he erected two Schools for it, the one in the Island of *Majorca*, and the other at *Barcelona*: The *Friers*, and particularly the *Dominicans*, in conformity to the King's Command, backed by a Decree of
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of a Council assembled at *Toledo*, and another of a general Chapter of the *Dominican* Order, did appoint such of their Orders, as they judged to be most capable, to apply themselves assiduously to the Study of the *Arabick* Tongue; which was done by several of them with so much Diligence, that they are said to have become great Masters of, and eloquent Preachers in *Arabick* in a very short time.

But whatever their Success was in the Study of the Language of the *Moriscoes*, it is certain, that either through their own Impatience, or the *Moriscoes* Obstinacy, their Success in preaching to them was very small; for in less time after the Conquest of *Valentia*, than that difficult Tongue is ordinarily attainable, in such a measure as to preach in it, the Friars employed in that Work were every where representing the *Moriscoes* as such incurable Infidels, that it was in vain ever to hope, by any human Means, unless it were by those of Force, to convert them to *Christianity*; and to make the *Moriscoes* Obstinacy in their Infidelity the more inexcusable, they pretended to have wrought abundance of Miracles among them without any Success.

Upon these Representations of the Obstinacy of the *Moriscoes* in the *Mahometan* Sect, *Pope Clement* the IV. writ a long

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Letter to the same King *James* that conquered *Valentia*, to banish the *Moriscoes* out of all his Dominions, exhorting him to it in the following words: *Consider, my Son, consider, how dangerous a thing it is to suffer Saracens to live in your Kingdoms; who though they may out of Fear, for a time, conceal their Malice, will, whenever they shall have an Opportunity, discover it with a Vengeance: So that by suffering those obstinate Infidels to remain within your Dominions, you nourish a Serpent in your Bosom, and Fire in your Lap: with a great deal more to the same Purpose, and with the same Passion.*

At the same time *Clement* writ the following Letter to that King, on occasion of his having made one *Jatruda*, a profess'd *Jew*, Lord of his Treasury; and upon his having had a Conference held before him, concerning the Truth of the *Christian Faith*, betwixt a *Dominican Frier* and a *Jew*; and of a Book which had been published by that *Jew* against the *Christian Faith*, upon the Subject of that Conference.

Most glorious Prince, that the Zeal wherewith you do incessantly endeavour to adorn the orthodox Faith may shine the more illustriously in the subduing of all its Enemies and Rivals, and particularly the Jews, who do, above all others, blaspheme the Christian Name with Violence and Bitterness: for the future,

future, you must not admit any of that Religion to bear Offices, neither must you confer any Honour upon any of them, but on the contrary, must, so far as the Privileges allowed them by the Apostolical See will permit you, restrain and trample upon their Malice, and not suffer their Blasphemies to go unpunish'd; but above all, the Impudence of that Jew ought to be severely chastised, who upon the Disputation which he had in your Presence, with our loving and religious Son, Father Paul, of the Predicant Order, is said to have writ a Book which he has filled with Lies, and has, to propagate them, dispers'd several Copies of the said Book through your Territories; for which impudent Fact he ought to be punished severely, but without touching his Life, or maiming his Body; yet so as to terrify others from ever being so audacious as to attempt the like. We do therefore admonish your Serenity, &c.

Whatever Effect this Letter, writ by the Pope concerning the Jews, had on the King, he was so inflam'd by that which was writ to him concerning the Moriscoes, that could he have had his Will, he had not left one of them within his Dominions, that had refused to be baptised.

But the Constitution of the Government of Aragon and Valentia being such, that the King had no Authority to do any thing

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of a publick Nature without the Concurrency of the three Estates in *Cortes*, or *Parliament* assembled, the King called a *Cortes*, to try if he could prevail with 'em to have all the *Moriscoes* banish'd that would not turn *Christians*.

In which *Cortes* the King made this following Speech at the Opening of it.

Most prudent Men, you are all Witnesses of the great Labours we have undergone to conquer this Kingdom and City, neither is our Mind as yet quiet, not so much through a Desire of making farther Conquests, as out of a Zeal to conquer the Souls of our Subjects to Christ, and to his true Religion; to which holy Enterprize we have given a Beginning in this City, by having commanded all the Moriscoes that live therein, either to turn Christians, or to go and live somewhere else: but in the Country we have not been able to carry this matter so far. Wherefore, what I have to tell you is, that since the War is at an End, and all things are well settled, and the Moriscoes have been permitted to live quietly in their Houses, and upon their Lands, and have, to make the Toke of their Subjection the more easy, been suffered to profess their own Religion; that their persevering after all this in the wicked Sect of Mahometism is an undeniable Evidence of Infidelity.

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delity being deeply rooted in their Hearts, and does further assure the World, that they will never be faithful either to God or Us.

After the King had made this Speech, it was proposed, that the *Moriscoes*, if they would not turn *Christians*, should be all banished the Kingdom: The Ecclesiasticks and Commons gave their Consent to it: But the Barons, to whom most of the *Moriscoes* were Vassals, and whose Lands would have been of little Profit to them, after the People by whom they were cultivated were sent away, would by no Means agree to its being done, declaring it to be both an impolitick, and a wicked thing; and that the Ecclesiasticks, instead of promoting the Expulsion of a People (by whom the whole Work of the Kingdom was done in a manner) if they would not turn *Christians*, ought to take Pains to instruct them in the Faith; in which, whatever might be pretended, it was certain they had never been sufficiently instructed; so that it was the *Moriscoes* Ignorance of the *Christian Religion*, more than their Love for the *Mahometan*, that kept them from being converted.

By this brisk Opposition, having been made by the whole Body of the Barons, who were called, *The military Arm*, or *Estuto*, to the first publick Motion that had

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been made for the banishing of the *Moriscoes*, the Design of expelling them was so knocked on the head, that the Barons continuing to the last to be of the same mind, as we shall see hereafter; it was not, that we read of, notwithstanding the *Moriscoes* did all still remain *Mahometans*, revived again in above 300 Years; when the Power and Authority of the Barons were, by the Policy of their Princes, brought to a very low Ebb, from what they had been anciently.

The Barons, or Nobles, who in the beginning of the Conquests made upon the *Moors* in *Spain*, were Fellow-Soldiers, or Fellow-Adventurers with those who came afterwards to be their Princes, did always, when they set a King over them, reserve great Rights and Privileges to themselves; and particularly a Claim to the greatest Share of the Towns and Lands which were conquered by them, as belonging to them by the same Right that the Crown had to that Share of the Lands which fell to its Lot: The ancient Barons were by that means so powerful, that their Princes were not able to do any thing of a publick Nature without their Concurrence and Consent: This, as we shall see hereafter, having never been given to the expelling of the *Moriscoes*, made the doing of it to be as illegal as it was inhuman: And to satisfy the curious Reader

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Reader that it was so, I think it will not be improper, in this Place, to give him a short Account of the Government of *Aragon*, to which *Valentia* belonged; as it was constituted when it was first erected into a Monarchy.

The People that recover'd *Aragon* from the *Moors*, finding it most convenient for them to be under a Kingly Government, did, before they chose a King, for the Security of their Properties and Liberties under that Form of Government, make several Laws and Constitutions, which their Kings, before they were acknowledged to be such, were to swear to observe inviolably.

1. That the King should not do any thing of a publick nature, without the Consent of the *Three Armes*, or *Estates*, in *Cortes* or *Parliament* assembled.

2. That there should be for ever a Standing Magistrate, named by the *Three Estates*, with the Title of, *Justice of Aragon*; with full Authority to redress all the Grievances of the Subjects.

3. That in case the King deny to do Justice to any Subject, according to the Sentence of the *Justice*, that the Barons and rich Men, upon Complaints being made to them thereof, should assemble themselves,

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selves, and charge those that held Lands of the Crown, not to pay their Rents, until the aggrieved Subject was relieved.

4. That it was not lawful for the King, without the Consent of the *Three Armes*, to bring any foreign Troops into the Kingdom; and in case he did, that it should be lawful for the Subjects to take up Arms, and to drive them out, tho' headed by the King in Person.

Lastly, That in case the King did violate any of the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, he might lawfully be deposed by the Subjects, who were to swear Obedience to him in the following Form of words;

Nis que valemus tanto como vos, os hazemus nuestro Rey y Sennor: com tal, que mos guardeys nuestros Fueros y Libertades; è sy no, no.

That is to say,

We who are as valuable as you, do make you our King and Lord, but upon condition, That you shall preserve our Laws and Liberties; and if not, not.

But to return to the *Moriscoes*:

After the forementioned Attempt, to have banished all the *Moriscoes* in the Kingdom of *Valentia*, had miscarried, we hear
little

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little of them besides loud Complaints of their invincible Obstinacy in their Infidelity, until the Year 1510; when upon *Ferdinand's* having forced all the *Moriscoes* in the Kingdom of *Granada* either to be baptized or to leave *Spain*; the Barons fearing lest he might attempt to do the same in the Kingdom of *Valentia*, did oblige him in a *Cortes* assembled in that Year, to give his Royal Assent to the following Law; which is still extant in the *Extravaganti*, Fol. 73.

We do by this Law and Statute Enact, That the Moriscoes, abiding or dwelling in Cities, or Royal Villages; or in any other Village, Places, or Countries, belonging to the Ecclesiasticks, Rich-men, Nobles, Knights or Citizens, or of any other Persons whatsoever, shall not be expelled, or turn'd out of them; neither shall they be banish'd out of the Kingdom of Valentia, or out of any of the Cities, or Royal Villages thereof; neither shall they ever be forced to turn Christians: And it is our farther Will and Pleasure, That they shall not be hindred to trade, or to buy and sell, either among themselves, or among Christians, neither by us, nor by any of our Successors, but shall enjoy all the same Liberties they have formerly enjoyed.

But

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But the Barons being sensible that there were some People that were continually calling upon their Princes to banish all the *Moriscoes* out of *Spain*, if they would not turn *Christians*; and judging, that they could never do too much to secure the Kingdom against so fatal a Blow as that would be to it, they had it made a part of their King's Coronation Oath, *That he should, upon no Pretence whatsoever, expel the Moriscoes, nor force them against their Wills, to be baptized; and that he should neither directly nor indirectly ever desire to be dispensed with as to the said Oath; or in case a Dispensation should be offered to him, that he should not accept of it; and that if he did, whatsoever should be done by him thereupon, should be null and void*: By which Law and Oath, so short sighted a thing is human Providence, the Barons did reckon, that they had sufficiently secured *Valentia* from ever being depriv'd of so numerous and industrious a People, as the *Moriscoes* were.

But the Commons of *Valentia* having in the Year 1520. taken up Arms, and driven all the Nobles, and all the King's Officers out of the Kingdom; the first thing the Commons did after they had taken the Government into their wild Hands, was to command all the *Moriscoes*, by a publick Proclamation, upon Pain of Death, to be
baptized

baptized as soon as that Proclamation came to their Knowledge; which was done by the Commons, more out of Spight to the Barons, by whom the *Moriscoes* had been so long protected, notwithstanding their Infidelity, than out of any true Zeal for Religion: But upon whatever Motive that Proclamation was set forth by the Commons, the *Moriscoes* apprehending that they had no other way to secure their Lives under such a furious Government, but by complying with it in this Matter, they were baptized every where in such vast numbers, that it was verily believ'd, that there was not a *Moriscoe* left unbaptized in the whole Kingdom.

By these forced *Baptisms*, the Controversy about their Validity was revived again; some Divines holding them to be valid, and others denying them to be so, for not having been voluntary; which they could not be said to have been, having been received to avoid present Death.

The Emperor *Charles* the *Vth.* having reduced the Commons to Obedience, called an Assembly of the *Clergy* to determine this difficult Point; in which Assembly, the Inquisitor General being President of it, it was concluded, That though the Commons had done ill, in compelling the *Moriscoes* to be baptized, those *Baptisms* were nevertheless

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less so valid, as to oblige all that had received them, to profess the *Christian Faith*, and to make them liable to the Punishments due to *Apostates*, if they return'd to their former Infidelity: Which *Determination* was justified by the 57th *Decree* of the 4th *Council* of *Toledo*, held in the *Æra* 671; in which *Decree* the *Fathers*, after having condemned the forcing of Infidels to receive *Christian Baptism*, *Because God has mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will, he hardneth*, did nevertheless declare, That the *Jews*, who in the *Æra* 1649, and who were reckoned to have been ninety thousand grown People, had been forced by King *Sisebut* to receive *Christian Baptism*, were, notwithstanding the Compulsion, obliged to continue in the Profession of the *Christian Faith*.

It is necessary, saith the *Decree*, *that they be constrained to hold the Faith, notwithstanding they were at first forc'd to embrace it: that the Name of God may not be blasphemed, and the Faith they embraced may not become vile and contemptible.*

When this *Determination* was made publick, it raised a mighty Disturbance in *Valentia*, vast numbers of the *Moriscoes* dreading the Thoughts of being brought under the Jurisdiction of the Inquisition as *Christians*, declaring thereupon, That they had
never

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never been baptized, but had only profess'd *Christianity*, to avoid the Fury of the Commons.

The Inquisitors not being able, by reason that the *Moriscoes*, who had been baptized in vast Crowds, had not been registred, to disprove this Pretence, did petition the Emperor to destroy it; by commanding all the *Moriscoes*, who did own their having been baptized, to be confirmed; and to command those who affirmed, that they had never been baptized, upon pain of perpetual Slavery or Banishment, to receive that Sacrament immediately.

But the Emperor being bound by an *Oath* never to do that, nor to desire, accept of, or make use of any Dispensation of that *Oath*, a Dispensation was sent to him by *Pope Clement* the VIIth. in the Year 1524, whereby he was released from the whole of that *Oath*, in the following Words.

And we do further release your Majesty from the Obligation of the Oath which we are informed was taken by you in the General Estates of the said Kingdoms and Principalities, never to expel the said Infidels; absolving you from all Censures, and Penalties of the Guilt of Perjury, which you might incur thereby; and dispensing with you, as to that Promise, so far as it is necessary:
And

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And we do further grant free and full Power to the Inquisitors, to compel all that shall contradict the same, or prove refractory, by Ecclesiastical Censures, and other proper and lawful Methods, requiring the Assistance of the Secular Arm, if it shall be judged necessary: All Apostolical Constitutions, and all Ordinances, Statutes, and Privileges, of the said Kingdoms and Principality, to the contrary notwithstanding, though confirmed by an Oath, and by an Apostolical Confirmation, or by whatsoever other Authority; and notwithstanding it should be provided, that a Relaxation from the said Oath should not be desired, nor ever be made use of, if granted: And that the said Privileges should never be by any means abrogated: And that whatsoever shall be done to the Prejudice of the same, shall be held as null and void: And we do exhort your Majesty, by your Letters, to commit the Preaching of the Word of God to the said Moors, inhabiting the said Kingdoms and Principality of Catalonia, to our beloved Sons, the Inquisitors of Heretical Pravity; deputed, or to be deputed in the said Kingdoms and Principality, to open the way of Truth and Salvation to the Faithful. And in case the Moors do persist, in the Hardness of their Hearts, and in their Perfidiousness, so as not to embrace the Faith of Christ, within a term to be prefix'd by the Inquisitors, they shall be commanded, upon

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pain

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pain of perpetual Servitude and Bondage, to depart out of the said Kingdoms and Principality; which if they fail to do within the said term; they shall be all Slaves, and shall be understood to be such.

This Dispensation of the Pope's does plainly discover to the World, how little all Laws, Statutes, and Oaths, though confirm'd by the *See of Rome*, do signify to the Security of the Lives, Liberties and Property of Subjects that are not Papists, under a Popish Prince: It being impossible for the Wit of Man to frame an Oath fuller to all those purposes than this was, that is here dispensed with: for besides that it contained a Promise, never to desire a Dispensation, or if a Dispensation should be offer'd, not to accept, or make use of it; it contained a Declaration likewise, that whatsoever should, by virtue of any Dispensation, be done to the Prejudice thereof, should be null and void to all Intents and Purposes: An Oath never to desire a Dispensation, or to accept or make use of one if offer'd, being a matter the Plenitude of the Papal Power, as we see by this, can dispense with, whenever it is for its Advantage to do it.

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The Emperor was no sooner unty'd from this Branch of his Coronation Oath, than he commanded the chief Inquisitor to send Preachers among the *Moriscoes*, to instruct them in the *Christian Faith*: Sending the following Letter at the same time to all the *Moriscoes*, to let them know what they must expect, if they did not presently embrace it.

Know ye that we being moved by the Grace and Inspiration of Almighty God, are resolved not to suffer any Religion, besides the Christian, to be professed within our Kingdoms and Dominions: Wherefore desiring the Health and Salvation of your Souls, and to rescue you from the Error and Imposture you are under, we do earnestly beseech, intreat, and command you all to turn Christians, and immediately to receive the Water of Holy Baptism. To this our Command, if you shall yield a ready Obedience, you shall enjoy all the Liberties and Franchises that are by the Laws of these Kingdoms enjoyed by Christians, and which shall be preserved to you as to faithful Subjects; but in case you do prove refractory, we will then take some other course with you: And whereas we are immovably fixed in this our Resolution, we would have you be sensible of the Benefit we intend you thereby,
and

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and to conform your selves to God's Will and ours.

Dated at *Segovie* the 13th of *September*, in the Year of our *Lord* 1525.

A Proclamation was set forth at the same time by *Germana*, the Queen Dowager of *Ferdinand*, Governor of *Valentia*, commanding all the *Moriscoes*, under great Penalties, to hear the Preachers that were sent to them; and commanding the Barons to oblige their *Moriscoe* Vassals to go to Church, and to make use of all the other means of Instruction.

A short time having been allowed for the instructing of the *Moriscoes* in the *Christian Faith*, an Edict was published by the Emperor, commanding all the *Moriscoes* that were not baptized, either to receive *Baptism* immediately, or to depart out of all the *Spanish* Dominions, upon Pain of perpetual Servitude and Bondage.

The *Moriscoes*, that did not own their having ever been baptized, perceiving that there was no Remedy, but that they must either leave their native Countries, or be Slaves in it, if they did not turn Christians, the Generality of them did receive *Baptism*; only about *Pianaguazil*, where the unbaptized were very numerous, they took up

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Arms to defend themselves against it; but having been quickly subdued, they were forc'd likewise to receive that Sacrament: So that after the Year 1526, there was not a *Moriscoe* left in *Spain*, that had not been baptized.

As such forced Conversions as these must necessarily make work for the Inquisition; so that Court having now got all the *Moriscoes* directly under its Jurisdiction, did begin presently to exercise its customary Cruelties upon them; vast numbers of them being burnt every Year, for having apostatised from *Christianity* to the *Mahometan Sect*.

The Barons, whose original Power was much lessened since the late Rebellion of the Commons, notwithstanding they had been the chief Sufferers in it, whilst it lasted, did petition the Emperor, that a stop might be put to the Cruelties exercised by the Inquisition upon the *Moriscoes*, until they were better instructed in a Religion which they had been so lately compelled to profess: The Emperor judging this Petition of the Barons not to be unreasonable, he agreed to it, and having Power from the Pope to do it, he suspended the Jurisdiction of the Inquisition as to the *Moriscoes*, until they were more fully instructed in the *Christian Faith*, ordering the chief In-

quisitor

quisitor at the same time to send greater Numbers of Preachers among them, and to charge them not to give over preaching, until they had fully instructed and settl'd'em in the true Religion: Among the Friers of this Mission there was one *John Micon*, a *Dominican*, who having preached a great many Sermons to little or no Purpose, he did, in a fit of Zeal, one day from the Pulpit command the *Moriscoes* who were his Auditors to go and fetch a dead Body, that he might raise it to Life before their Eyes, to confirm the Truth of the Doctrines he had preached to them; but the *Moriscoes* either having no dead Body ready, or not daring to fetch one, because if they had, they would thereby have discovered that they were at least doubtful in the *Faith* (which, with the Inquisition, is the same thing as to deny it) the Experiment was not try'd; and the Frier came down triumphant from the Pulpit, insulting over the *Moriscoes* as Infidels that were so strongly prejudiced against the *Christian Faith*, that they were not willing to see a Miracle wrought to convince them of its Truth, when he had offered, for that Purpose, to have wrought one before their Eyes.

The Friers, and particularly *Micon*, the Pretender to Miracles, growing weary of preaching to the *Moriscoes*, did, according

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to their Custom, fill the Court and the whole Country with such loud Exclamations of their prodigious Obstinacy in the *Mahometan Sect*, that the Inquisitors were let loose upon them again, as the only Apostles that had the right Methods of converting such Infidels, if it were possible to convert them to the Faith; under whose severe Discipline of Racking, Whipping, Banishing and Burning, the *Moriscoes* having continued for several Years, the Barons in a *Cortez* assembled at *Mocon*, in the Year 1534, complain'd of those Severities, representing it as a very unjust thing in the Inquisition, to punish those who had been so lately forced to be baptized, when convicted of Apostacy, with the same Rigor that they did old Christians, who had been born and bred in the Faith, that were found guilty of the same Crime: And having no hopes of being able a second time to procure a Suspension of the Authority of the Inquisition, they laboured hard to obtain something that they reckon'd was next Door to it; which was, That the Inquisitors, in consideration of the Sum of Fifty Thousand Soldos, that should be paid to them yearly by the Communities of the *Moriscoes*, should have no Share either in the real or personal Estate of any *Moriscoe* that was condemned by them; their real Estates being to go to
the

their Lords, and their personal to their Heirs at Law: By which Bargain, to which the Inquisitors were with much ado brought to agree, the Barons did hope the Edge of their Zeal against the *Moriscoes* would be very much abated, by not being continually whetted by Covetousness, as it had been before, whilst they were in a manner Heirs to all that they condemned.

But tho' this Agreement with the Inquisition was made wholly by the Power and Interest of the Barons, it was afterwards objected against the *Moriscoes* as an Evidence of their being *Hereticks* or *Infidels*; *because none but such*, said the Inquisitors, *would pay so much Money yearly, on Purpose to mitigate the Punishments of Hereticks and Apostates.*

In a Letter written by *Lewis Bertram*, a *Dominican* Frier, in the Year 1579, to the Duke of *Neguiera*, Vice-Roy of *Valentia*, we meet with an account of the State the New Converts were in at that time, and of the Methods that Frier, who has been beatified by the Pope, did judge to be the most proper to make them true Catholics.

*Frier Bertram's Letter to the Duke of
Neguiera.*

Most Illustrious and Excellent Lord,

HAVING first commended the *Affairs of the new Christians to God, the great Hardness of Heart that is in most of them, I pray God it be not in them all, being supposed, and that they are all Hereticks, or which is worse, Apostates, who do plainly discover an Aversion for the Christian Religion, and do, so far as they are able, observe all the Rites of Mahomet's Alcoran; keeping their Children also from being Christians, when they find them disposed to it; and it being supposed likewise, that tho' it is now about fifty Years since they were all baptized, that they are as far as ever they were from being true Christians; all these things, I say, being supposed, and that mild and merciful Methods will never do any good with them; my Opinion is, that the secular and ecclesiastic Princes ought to use one of these two Remedies with them: First, to oblige them by rigorous Punishments to observe the Christian Religion, and to forsake the Sect of Mahomet; neither is their having been forced in the times of the Communities, and since, to be baptized, sufficient to keep them from being treated after such a manner; for notwithstanding*

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standing that was not well done, and I would to God it had never been, the Consequences thereof having taught us abundantly how much better it would have been to have observed the Custom of the Church, as it is well declared by St. Thomas: Nevertheless, those who were then compelled to be baptized, did in some sense consent to it; and of the Moriscoes that are now living, there is not one in twenty that has not been baptized when they were Infants; and it is certain, from the Determination of the Church, that such may be obliged no less than old Christians to observe the Christian Faith, tho' at the same time, if they should turn Hereticks, or Apostates, I think they ought not to be punished as rigorously as if they were old Christians.

The Moriscoes must be made to lose the Arabick Tongue, otherwise their Women and Children will not understand their Preachers and Confessors, and must be commanded, under Pecuniary Mulcts, not to speak that Language; they must also be forced to go to Church on Sundays and Holydays; and no Moriscoe Woman must have leave to marry before she can repeat the Christian Doctrine.

The Second Remedy, if the First be not used, is not to suffer the Sacrament of Baptism to be administered to the Children of any of the Moriscoes, without taking them from
D 4 *their*

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their Parents; since it is morally certain, that if they continue with their Parents, they will make them all Apostates, being so themselves: And it is much better the Moriscoes should always be Mahometans, than be either Apostates or Hereticks.

Such Representations as these, of the Infidelity of the *Moriscoes*, coming from all Quarters, *Philip* the II^d. who had the Secret of reconciling several enormous Vices to a very hot Zeal for Religion, was calling Assemblies continually, either at *Madrid*, or at *Valentia*, to find out Ways to bring his *Moriscoe* Subjects to be true Christians. In one of those Assemblies, after a long and diligent Enquiry into the true Causes of this Obstinacy of the *Moriscoes*, it was judged to flow chiefly from their having never been sufficiently instructed in the Christian Faith: the Friars, who through several Ages have been set up to preach to them, besides their having never had Patience to stay long enough among them to instruct such vast numbers sufficiently in a new Religion, were generally so angry with the *Moriscoes*, for not being converted by their first or second Sermon, that afterwards they did little else than rail at them and *Mahomet*, calling them obstinate Dogs, and *Mahomet* a Devil incarnate. And as to the

Vicars,

of the Moriscoes out of Spain. 51

Vicars, who had the Cure of their Souls, as their Benefices were very small, so they were generally too mean Clerks, to be able to do Christianity so great a Service. For the better Instruction of the *Moriscoes*, the King was therefore desired to supplicate the Pope, to give way to the augmenting of their Vicarages, and to the building and endowing of new Churches and Chapels among them, out of the Ecclesiastical Revenues of *Valentia*, to the encouraging of Priests of Learning, Piety, and all other necessary Qualifications to accept of the *Moriscoe* Curacies, and to continue and labour in them, to the instructing and edifying of their Souls.

The King having approved of this Advice, when it was offer'd him, did, by his Ambassador at the Court of *Rome*, obtain a *Breve* from *Gregory XIII.* bearing date the 16th of *June* 1576. charging the Rents of the Archbishoprick of *Valentia* with a yearly Pension of three thousand and six hundred Ducats, and all the other Bishopricks, and Ecclesiastical Dignities, with yearly Pensions, in proportion to their Revenues, towards the forementioned pious Uses.

This *Papal Breve* was so far from being of any Advantage to the Conversion of the *Moriscoes*, that it may justly be reckoned
among

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among the things that promoted their Expulsion.

The Archbishop and other Ecclesiasticks, whose Rents were already charg'd with considerable yearly Pensions, towards the defraying of the Charges of instructing the *Moriscoes* in the Christian Faith, were so provoked by this new and great Charge, that they never gave over soliciting their Princes to rid *Spain* of them, as of incorrigible Hereticks and Apostates, on whom all the Means and Charges of Instruction were Pains and Money thrown away; representing them as Rebels likewise, who had invited the *Moors, Turks, French, English* and *Dutch* to invade *Spain*, by Promises of assisting them to conquer it; and by assuring them, that it might be done with a great deal of Ease, *Spain* having neither Men nor Money to defend her.

The Archbishop, that his having deny'd to pay this new Pension (and which, as we shall see hereafter, was never paid by him, nor by any of his Clergy) might not be thought to flow from his Covetousness, or from his want of Zeal to convert such a Multitude of Infidels within his Province to the Christian Faith, did at this time give out, That he would prefer no Clerk to the Benefices in his Gift, but from the *Moriscoe* Vicarages; and that they who went among
the

of the Moriscoes out of Spain. 53

the *Moriscoes*, and did take the most Pains to instruct them, should be considered by him above all others: And whereas by the Laws of *Valentia*, none that were not Natives were capable of enjoying any Benefice in it with cure of Souls, that Law was dispens'd with as to all the *Moriscoe* Vicarages; and Priests of any Nation were made capable of holding them. We do not read of the *Moriscoe* Vicarages having been filled with better or abler Clerks upon this Promise of the Archbishop's, as it is probable they would, had their Rents been considerably augmented, as the King would have had them; neither do we read of any Priests coming from the other Kingdoms of *Spain*, upon their having been made capable of enjoying the poor *Moriscoe* Vicarages in *Valentia*: So that as to their Religion, the *Moriscoes* of that Kingdom continued in much the same state until the Year 1596; when the King having been inform'd, that to pardon the *Moriscoes* all their past Apostacies, was the most likely way to make them true Christians for the future, he obtained the following Edict of Grace of the *Pope* for that Purpose.

An

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An E D I C T of Grace.

To our Venerable Brethren, the Archbishop of *Valentia*, the Bishops of *Tortosa*, *Segovie* and *Origuella*, Pope Clement VIIIth. Health, and Apostolical Benediction.

OUR most dear Son in Christ, Philip, the Catholick King of Spain, having proposed to us, That treading in the Footsteps of his Father, Charles the Vth, of Glorious Memory, he has, with the Authority of the Chief Pontiffs, our Predecessors, laboured to have had the Moriscoes of Valentia, and other new Converts to Christianity, fully instructed in the Catholick Faith, and that having been assured by grave and honest Men of the said Moriscoes continuing still Mahometans; he does therefore humbly supplicate us to administer such Remedies as are most proper for the Conversion of the said Moriscoes, or New Converts; in answer to which, we, according to our Pastoral Office, and Apostolical Authority, have not been wanting to administer such Remedies.

But whereas during the time wherein those People are to be instructed, or during the time or times of Grace concerning which Edicts will be published, the said Moriscoes or New Converts may, and we trust

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trust in God's Mercy, will frequent the Church, or will at least, at the time the Church hath appointed, go to the most healthful and necessary Sacrament of Penance, and may, peradventure, confess in the Court of Conscience divers Sins, Transgressions, Sacrileges and other Crimes, as also Heresies, Errors and Apostacy from the Faith; and the having observed the Rites and Ceremonies of the Mahometan Sect, or of the Law of Moses: Wherefore that sufficient Authority may not be wanting, to absolve those in the Court of Conscience who have been guilty of the said, or the like Sins; We, who have nothing so much in our Thoughts, as the careful Reduction of straying Sheep to the Fold of our Lord, earnestly desiring the aforesaid true, sincere and perfect Conversion of the said Moriscoes, or New Converts, and the Removal of all the Impediments which may any ways hinder, or retard the same, confiding in the Prudence, Piety, and Zeal for the Holy Catholick Faith, which are in every one of you, do grant Faculty, Authority and Power to all, and every one of you, but within your own Diocesess and Jurisdictions, only to name and depute some pious, prudent and holy Priests, who are Doctors of Divinity, or Doctors of Canon Law, or Preachers of the Word of God, or others who are by their Learning, Lives and Prudence qualified and appointed to hear the Confessions of the

Faithful,

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Faithful, whether Seculars or Regulars, of whatsoever Order, and as many as you shall judge to be necessary to hear the Confessions of the said Moriscoes or New Converts, and of all such as have believed and encouraged them, and to absolve all such only in the Court of Conscience from all Heresies or Errors, or Apostasies from the Christian Faith, tho' often repeated, and notwithstanding they have been abjured in Judgment, and of all other such Sins, Excesses and Crimes, and of all that have been occasioned by them, and for having read and retained the Books of the Mahometan Seet, or which are otherwise prohibited; and also of Hereticks who are involved in Ecclesiastical Censures, and from the Ecclesiastical Censures of the Excommunication, Suspension and Interdict pronounced de jure, or ab homine, or on any Occasion or Cause, or in the other cases which are any ways reserved to us, and the Apostolical See, those which are read every Year on the day of Coena Domini not excepted, and notwithstanding they may have often committed the same, and have often relapsed; provided that they do not know of their being accused thereof in Judgment, or have not been condemned as Hereticks and Apostates; but shall, during the time or times of their Instruction of this Grace, compear voluntarily before the Inquisitors, that they may provide faithful Medicines for them; on Condition,

tion, that during the said time of Instruction, or times of Grace, they do with a sincere Heart, and true Faith, confess themselves, and humbly desire and receive Penance; and do anathematize and abjure their Apostacy from the Faith, and their said Heresies and Errors; humbly begging to be admitted into the Bosom of Holy Mother Church; and promising, with the usual Oath, for the future to abstain from the like Apostasies, Heresies and Errors; and have imposed on every one of them at the Pleasure of the said Confessors, healthful Penances, according to the Quality of their Faults and Excesses, and which shall be judged to be proper for the Medicine and Health of their Souls, provided they be not pecuniary.

By the Tenor of these Presents, and with our Apostolical Authority, we do grant and confirm, that they may absolve, reconcile and admit into the Bosom of Holy Mother Church, for the space of four Years only. All Apostolical Constitutions, Ordinances, Privileges, Indults, and the Letters which are used to be read on the Day of Coena Domini, and other Apostolical Letters whatsoever: As also all Constitutions to the Inquisitors of Spain, of what sort soever they are, granted, approved, or renewed, to the contrary notwithstanding, &c.

If

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If the four Years of Grace, granted by this Ediſt to the *Moriſcoes*, did commence from the Date of the Ediſt, as it is more than probable it did, above one half of that Term was elapſed, before the *Moriſcoes* could reap any Benefit by it, which they could not do until it was published in *Valentia*; which we are certain it was not, from the following Letter of *Philip* the III^d. till after the 6th of *Auguſt* 1599. Whereas the Ediſt was dated at *Rome* on the 28th of *February* 1597.

Philip the III.'s Letter to the Biſhop of Valentia.

Reverend Father in Chriſt, and Biſhop of my Council.

THE Inquiſitor General has ſent me a Subdelegation, which he hath made to the Inquiſitors of his Holineſs's Breve for the Ediſt of Grace, which he will grant to the New Converts of this my Kingdom of *Valentia*; in which there is a Clause, that he ſhall with your Concurrence, and that of the other Prelates in their ſeveral Diſtricts, name Commiſſaries. I have remitted it to him again, with my Letter and Order, that he ſhould communicate it to you and the reſt of the Prelates, concerning

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*cerning the Nomination of the said Commis-
saries, and the Publication and Execution of
the said Edict of Grace. I desire and
charge you to apply your self to this Affair,
with that Efficacy and Warmth as your Office,
and the Zeal and Care you have always dis-
covered for so holy a Work, which is so much
for the Good of those People, and the Service
of our Lord, obligeth you to, which will be
well taken of you by me.*

Dated at *Denia*, the 6th of
August, 1599.

We are not any where told the Reason
why the Publication of this Edict of *Grace*
was deferred so long; only it appears from
this Letter of the King's, that two Years
and a half after that Edict was, upon the
Supplication of *Philip II*, granted by the
Pope, the Inquisitor-General, and the Bi-
shops of *Valentia*, to whom the Nomina-
tion of the Commissaries who were to pub-
lish that Edict was left, had not named 'em;
and that at last the King was forced to in-
terpose his Authority, and require them to
do it.

What was the Success of this Edict of
Grace, and how they who were entrusted
with its Execution stood affected to the
Moriscoes, will plainly appear by the Me-
morials,

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memorials, which immediately after its Expulsion were given in to the King by the Archbishop of *Valentia*; the Substance of which Memorials I shall here set down in that Prelate's own Words.

In his first Memorial, presented to the King in *January* 1602, he begins thus; ' Being compelled by the Love which, as a most faithful Subject, and humble Chaplain, I have for your Majesty's Service, and for the Preservation and Augmentation of your Royal Crown, I could not forbear to acquaint your Majesty with my Thoughts of the Affair of the *Moriscoes*; humbly beseeching your Majesty to receive them with your customary Clemency and Benignity. As to the *Moriscoes* of *Valentia* we do certainly know them to be all *Mahometans*, and that as far as they are able they do observe all the Rites of the *Alcoran*, and do despise all the Laws of the *Catholick Church*: For besides all the former Evidences we had of this, they have now given us a fresh Evidence of it, since the *Edict of Grace* was published among them, in that we have not been able to persuade one of that Race to make use of it; for I did plainly discover by the Conferences I my self had with their chief Men, that they are all in Correspondence

one

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one with another, and did all speak, as it were, with the same Mouth; the Answer they universally gave us being, *That they were true Christians, and did intend to continue so: That they had learnt the Christian Doctrine or Catechism when they were Children, and did send their Children to learn it: That they confessed themselves to their Curates, and had never concealed any of their Sins in Confession: That they knew of none that lived in the Mahometan Sect, and were not at leisure to pry into the People's Conversations, or into what they did in their Families:* And when upon having received these Answers from them, I have convicted them of having lyed to me, they did then either remain silent, or did repeat the same Answers again. The *Mahometan* Fast, which happened to be at that very time, was kept by them with greater Strictness than they had ever observed it before; as were also all the other Rites and Solemnities of that Sect. This is a true Account of what passed in my Bishoprick, in which six Women only gave any Sign of being reduced; and whom we had no great Reason to trust neither, Experience having taught us, that when they are at any time discontented with their Parents, or Husbands, that they will then, in a Passion, pretend to turn Christians, but with-

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‘ out having ever seriously intended to do
‘ it; and I have been so often deceived by
‘ them, that I am come now not to trust
‘ them, unless they give me very good Pled-
‘ ges of their Sincerity, which few of them
‘ care to give, and when urg’d to it, common-
‘ ly discover their Hypocrisy. He goeth on;
‘ If *Spain* was formerly lost, in the time
‘ of King *Rodrigo*, by one single Person’s
‘ going over to the *Moors*, in how great
‘ Danger must *Spain* be in now, when it ap-
‘ pears from the Lists that were taken in the
‘ late King’s Reign, that there were 90000
‘ *Moriscoes* in this Kingdom, that were able
‘ to bear Arms; and who having been all
‘ born and bred among us, are perfectly ac-
‘ quainted with our whole Coasts and Coun-
‘ try; and who being all extremely desirous
‘ of living under a Government which will
‘ allow them Liberty of Conscience, and
‘ being withal unwilling to leave *Spain*, be-
‘ cause of its Fertility, are always prepared
‘ to serve any Tyrant, that will but suffer
‘ them to enjoy the free Exercise of their Re-
‘ ligion? So that *Spain* by having such Peo-
‘ ple in it, is not only in Danger from the
‘ *Barbary Moors* and *Turks*, but from the
‘ *English* also, and from all the other Enemies
‘ of the Catholick Religion, and the Crown
‘ of *Spain*; and especially at this time, when
‘ the Sect of the Politicians prevail so much,
‘ who

‘ who permit Subjects to choose their own
‘ Religion. Consider therefore now, that
‘ the Crown of *Spain* is so generally hated
‘ on the Account of its Zeal for the Catho-
‘ lick Religion, and out of Emulation at its
‘ Prosperity, whether it is not possible that
‘ an Enemy should be encouraged to invade
‘ us, by having so many among us to join
‘ with them, and who being, as they ima-
‘ gine, provoked and wronged by us, will
‘ fight furiously against us for their Estates
‘ and Religion. All this, saith he, is so ma-
‘ nifest, that we can never wonder enough
‘ that such wise and valiant Kings as *Charles*
‘ V. and *Philip II.* and who had such zea-
‘ lous and experienced Counsellors, should
‘ have deferred the remedying of so great
‘ an Evil.’ In a second Memorial, which
‘ he deliver’d to the King within a Month
‘ after the former, he tells the King, ‘ That
‘ the Remedy for great Evils, Spiritual or
‘ Temporal, was to pluck them up by the
‘ Roots at once: This Doctrine, saith he,
‘ is taught us by the Holy Scriptures, in
‘ which there is nothing so often repeated,
‘ and so much inculcated, and particularly
‘ on Kings, who ought to be the Ministers
‘ and Executioners of God’s Will, and to
‘ look after the Good and Peace of their
‘ Subjects: So the first Rulers that were ap-
‘ pointed of God, were commanded by him

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' to maintain their Subjects in Peace, and
 ' to destroy all the Cities of their Enemies,
 ' and all the Inhabitants thereof. The first
 ' King of *Israel* was likewise commanded to
 ' destroy the *Amalekites*, and spare the Life
 ' of neither Man, Woman, nor sucking
 ' Child; which he having forbore to do, he
 ' fell under the Wrath of God for it, and was
 ' deprived of his Kingdom. The second
 ' King, who was *David*, was commanded
 ' to destroy the *Philistines*, which he did.
 ' From which Examples it is manifest, that
 ' your Majesty, as King, and supreme Lord,
 ' is bound in Conscience to defend and pre-
 ' serve your Kingdoms; which you cannot
 ' do if you do not banish all the *Moriscoes*,
 ' Men, Women and Children out of them;
 ' only the Children, Male and Female, that
 ' are under seven Years of Age may be de-
 ' tain'd and dispersed among the old Chri-
 ' stians. And it is the Opinion of learned
 ' Men that your Majesty may lawfully make
 ' all those Children Slaves; neither would
 ' your Majesty, in banishing all the *Moriscoes*
 ' out of *Spain*, do a thing that was never
 ' done before by any of your Ancestors;
 ' your Majesty's Catholick Ancestors ha-
 ' ving in the Year 1592. expelled all the
 ' *Jews* out of *Spain*, to the number of four
 ' and twenty thousand Families.

Your

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‘ Your Majesty’s Grand-father, *Charles V.* likewise commanded all the *Moriscoes* to depart out of these Kingdoms if they would not be baptized; that Emperor hoping, that by having baptized them, they would, of Enemies, become our Friends; which that was so far from effecting, that they became more our Enemies than they had been before; so that we have all great cause to lament its having ever been done. Neither will your Majesty, in expelling all the *Moriscoes*, do any more than our Chronicles tell us has been done anciently in *Spain*. King *Sisebut* having in the Year 614. commanded all the *Jews* in *Spain* to be baptized, upon pain of perpetual Banishment; and upon those *Jews* having afterwards apostatised, King *Egyra* made Complaint thereof to the Council at *Toledo*, which decreed, that the Estates of all those Apostates were forfeited to the King; and the said Council of *Toledo* praised God, and King *Cinthilana*, for the Resolution he had taken, of not suffering any that were not *Catholicks* to live in *Spain*.

‘ All this I lay at your Majesty’s Feet, having been moved to trouble you with it, for the Promotion of God’s and your Majesty’s Service, and to acquaint you with the imminent Danger *Spain* is in. Wherefore,

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‘ as your Majesty’s most faithful Subject and
 ‘ Chaplain, I do humbly supplicate you to
 ‘ lay this Affair of the *Moriscoes* before your
 ‘ Council, as the weightiest of your whole
 ‘ Government, and that the Resolution
 ‘ which shall be taken may be speedily exe-
 ‘ cuted: For the *Moriscoes* encrease in Num-
 ‘ ber daily, and we decrease, so that in a few
 ‘ Years they will be more in Number than
 ‘ the old *Christians*; for at the same time
 ‘ that there are Abundance of Towns in
 ‘ Old *Castile* and *Andalusia* quite depopu-
 ‘ lated and ruined, the Towns of the *Mo-
 ‘ riscoes* are flourishing, and full of People;
 ‘ so that your Majesty, in expelling all the
 ‘ *Moriscoes*, will do a thing worthy of
 ‘ your self; and that will give you the Ho-
 ‘ nour of having conquered *Spain* a second
 ‘ time.

And in a third Memorial, deliver’d to the
 King by the same Archbishop a few Weeks
 after, he declared, ‘ that tho’ at the writ-
 ‘ ing of that he was 72 Years old, he was
 ‘ afraid, that if his Majesty did not drive
 ‘ all the *Moriscoes* out of *Spain* quickly, he
 ‘ might live to see it ruined a second time
 ‘ by the *Moors*.

But the Archbishop was not satisfied with
 having thus vehemently solicited the King
 to expel all the *Moriscoes*, but he farther
 took upon him to direct the King how it
 might

of the Moriscoes out of Spain. 67

might be executed; telling the King in a Paper he put into his Hands presently after the former Memorials;

‘ That after having thought much on the
‘ Affair of the *Moriscoes*, and recommend-
‘ ed it to God, and consulted the Scriptures,
‘ and divers grave and learned Men about
‘ it; what he had to offer to his Majesty
‘ was, that his Majesty should command
‘ an Information of all Heresies and Aposta-
‘ sies to be taken by the Bishops and Curates
‘ of all the Cities and Towns wherein any
‘ *Moriscoes* lived, who must be examined
‘ whether they go to Confession, and do
‘ communicate, and whether they eat
‘ Swine’s Flesh, and drink Wine; and it
‘ may be enquired, whether they do not
‘ very much encrease and multiply, and
‘ have not an Abhorrence for *Christians*,
‘ and an Affection for *Mahometans*; and
‘ are not disposed to join with any Prince
‘ that will allow them the Liberty of their
‘ Consciences: And if upon such an In-
‘ formation’s being taken, the *Moriscoes*
‘ should be found guilty, as they certainly
‘ will, they may thereupon be condemned
‘ to lose all their Goods, and to perpetual
‘ Banishment out of the Kingdom, within
‘ a prefix’d Term, and which ought to be
‘ short.

‘ And

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‘ And tho’ it is true, that through the No-
 ‘ toriety of their Guilt, the taking of such
 ‘ an Information is not in the Rigor of Justice
 ‘ necessary; nevertheless, since the taking
 ‘ of it will tend to the Justification of your
 ‘ Majesty’s proceeding with the *Moriscoes*, it
 ‘ is convenient that it should be taken: nei-
 ‘ ther will any then be able to condemn the
 ‘ foreſaid Sentence, which will be agree-
 ‘ able both to the Canon and Civil Law;
 ‘ according to which, in this caſe, the Con-
 ‘ fiſcation of their Goods, and their Banish-
 ‘ ment will be Graces, and not Rigors, ſince
 ‘ upon being convicted of Heresies, and not
 ‘ only ſo, but of being *Dogmatists* in Heresy,
 ‘ in breeding up their Children in the
 ‘ *Mahometan Sect*, they might juſtly have
 ‘ been puniſhed capitally. Neither can it
 ‘ be pretended, that there is any Injuſtice in
 ‘ condemning the *Moriscoes* thus, without
 ‘ hearing what they have to ſay in their
 ‘ own Defence, ſince the Evidence and No-
 ‘ toriety both of the Fact and the Law does
 ‘ ſupply that Deſect; and would ſupply it
 ‘ abundantly, though they were to be pun-
 ‘ iſhed capitally; it being moſt certain that
 ‘ a Prince, when both the Crime, and the
 ‘ Neceſſity of puniſhing it are notorious,
 ‘ may omit all judicial Forms, and eſpecial-
 ‘ ly when they cannot be ſafely obſerved,
 ‘ as they cannot in this caſe; in which to
 ‘ prevent

of the Moriscoes out of Spain. 69

prevent publick Disturbances, it is necessary, that the Sentence and its Execution should go together: And though it may not seem to be so proper for one of my Profession, as for your Majesty's Council of State, who must have the Example of the Expulsion of the *Jews* before them, to give Directions about the Expulsion of the *Moriscoes*, I shall nevertheless humbly offer my Thoughts to your Majesty concerning it; which are, That it must not be attempted without having a good Army and Fleet in readiness, to prevent Insurrections. And I have always reckoned your Majesty's unprosperous Attempt upon *Algiers* to have been a particular Providence of God, graciously disposing things for your Majesty's Advantage: Now that Loss will serve for a Blind for your Majesty's Preparation by Sea and Land, to expel all the *Moriscoes*, the World being of Opinion, that that Attempt upon *Algiers* having been your Majesty's first Enterprize, you will not sit down with that Loss. Your Majesty may, if you please, take four thousand of the stoutest young Men among the *Moriscoes*, and under a Pretence of employing them in your Service, send them to your Gallies, as *Heraclius* the Emperor did with the *Saracens*: you may also send some thousands of them to your Mines in the *Indies*,
& and

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‘ and so go on consuming them, and pre-
‘ serving your old Christian Subjects.

‘ And though it is sufficient to engage
‘ your Majesty to rid *Spain* of all the *Mo-*
‘ *riscoes*, only to let you know that you are
‘ bound in Conscience, and under the pain
‘ of a Mortal Sin to do it; nevertheless
‘ since the expelling of them will be attend-
‘ ed with both great Spiritual and Tempo-
‘ ral Advantages, I cannot forbear laying
‘ some of them before your Majesty.

1. *The Prelates and Curates will thereby
be freed from the Scruples they are under; and
which, if they understand any thing of Divi-*
nity, they cannot but have, to baptise those
they know will be Apostates.

2. *Your Majesty, by selling all the Children
of the Moriscoes that are under seven Years
old, who are reckoned to be above Five and
thirty thousand, will both receive a good Sum
of Money, and will gain a great many Sub-*
jects, who being sold to old Christians, will
all become Catholicks; and having lost the
Language, Habit and Ceremonies of the
Mahometans, will learn and observe those
of our Faith.

3. *Your Majesty may either send the strong-
est Men among them to your own Gallies, or
sell them to old Christians, among whom they
cannot use the Mahometan Ceremonies, without*
being

of the Moriscoes out of Spain. 71

being observed ; but a special Care must be taken, not to suffer any of the Moriscoe Men or Women to remain in Spain ; because that will be of ill Consequence to the Moriscoe Children, which are to be bred in it, in the Christian Faith.

On this Occasion, saith he, I will repeat what I have often affirmed ; which is, That your Majesty may, without any Scruple of Conscience, make Slaves of all the Moriscoes, and may either put them into your own Gallies or Mines, or sell them to Strangers ; and whereas their number is very great, you, may after you have supply'd your own Gallies and Mines, sell the rest of them in Italy : And as to their Children they may be all sold at good Rates here in Spain ; which will be so far from being a Punishment, that it will be a Mercy to them, since by that means they will all become Christians ; which they would never have been, had they continued with their Parents : By the holy Execution of which Piece of Justice, a great Sum of Money will flow into your Majesty's Treasury.

Lastly, The Moriscoes being a laborious and industrious People, do, by working cheaper than the Spaniards are able to work, eat the Bread out of the Spaniards Mouths ; and being also very frugal and temperate, they contribute very little to the publick Excises.

The

The Archbishop, when he was reckoning up the Profits which would accrue to the *Spaniards* by the Expulsion of the *Moriscoes*, might, if he had pleased, have mentioned the great Revenue that would return thereby to his own Archbishoprick, which had for a great many Years been charged with a considerable Pension, towards the maintenance of the *Moriscoe* Schools and Curacies; and which in the Year 1597, had, by a *Breve* from the *Pope*, been charged with a new yearly Pension of three thousand and six hundred Ducats towards the same pious Uses: Upon which last Pension not having been paid, the Archbishop, at the same time he gave in these *Memorials*, was commanded by a second *Breve* from the same *Pope*, to pay the Arrear of the said Pension, which amounted to fourteen thousand and four hundred *Ducats*, towards the Building of a College in the City of *Valentia*, for the instructing of *Moriscoe* Girls in the *Christian Faith*: To which new Foundation, that the Archbishop was no great Friend, appears not only from his having never paid the said Arrear toward the Building, but also from his having left out of the Copy of the *Papal Breve*, which was printed in *Spanish* at *Valentia*, all that was said in it of the ancient *Moriscoe* College having been of great Advantage

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vantage to those People; *which*, he said, *was false, and that his Holiness had been misinform'd by those that had told him so; the Moriscoes who had been bred in that College having turned afterwards as much Mahometans, as they could have been had they never seen it.*

While the Archbishop was labouring thus to persuade the King to rid *Spain* of the *Moriscoes*, the Barons of *Valentia* having been inform'd thereof, unanimously and passionately remonstrated against it, as the greatest Blow that could possibly be given to that Kingdom; whose Lands, they said, must lie untill'd, and all its rich Manufactures must come to nothing, if the *Moriscoes* were turned out of it, by whom chiefly all those Works were carried on: And having been acquainted with the Arguments that had been used by the Archbishop to persuade the King to it, they represented that of *Spain's* being in great Danger by reason of its having so many *Moriscoes* in it to be a mere Chimera or Dream; and which, when it had been formerly objected, had always been slighted as such by his Majesty's wise Ancestors, who were never governed by the Whimsies and Speculations of sedentary and unexperienced People, though never so holy and learned; challenging the Archbishop and all others that accused the *Moriscoes* of holding Intelligence with the King's Enemies, to convict them

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them of that Treason upon a fair legal Trial, that they might be justly punished for it; which they could not be barely upon a vehement Declaration of their being all guilty of Treason.

And as to the Argument, that the *Moriscoes* were all *Mahometans*; the Barons answered, That they did not believe that they were all so; or if they were, to send them all into *Barbary* would be no good way to convert them to the *Christian Faith*; adding farther, That if the *Moriscoes* were all *Mahometans*, their being so was owing chiefly to their Ignorance of the *Christian Faith*, and to the Rigors and Violences wherewith they had been treated, which had made them hate both Christians and their Religion; and which had hindred them, after they were forced to be baptized, from communicating their Doubts and Scruples to those who might have removed them.

They therefore beseeched his Majesty, not to suffer such severe and rigorous Methods to be used with them any longer, but to plant Preachers among them, who would, by tender and gentle Methods, insinuate themselves into their Affections; and after that was once done, the converting of them to Christianity, they said, would be found to be no hard Work: Giving the four following Reasons why this Course, which they

they affirmed had never yet been tryed with the *Moriscoes*, ought to be taken.

First, Because the *Moriscoes*, by having been baptized by Force, and, as it were, dragg'd into the Church by the Hair of the Head, were so prejudiced against *Christians*, on the account of that and other consequent Violences which they had used with them, that until that Prejudice was removed, it would not be found possible to reconcile them to *Christianity*; it being natural for all People not to have any regard to the Words of those they hate, and reckon to be their Enemies: therefore all that are sent to preach to the *Moriscoes*, ought to treat them with the same tender Affection wherewith St. Paul treated the *Galatians* after they had apostatized from the Faith which he had taught them.

Secondly, The *Moriscoes* being a rude and ignorant People, ought for that reason to be treated with the more Mildness, by those that endeavour to convert them to the Faith: So *John* the Baptist did not treat the Soldiers that came to hear him, with the same Severity he treated the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*; neither did our Lord treat the *Gentiles* and *Samaritans* so rigorously as he did the *Jews*; but commanded his Disciples to go among the *Gentiles* as *Sheep* among

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the *Wolves*, that they might gain their Hearts by their mild and innocent Behaviour: Wherefore, in order to the reconciling of the *Moriscoes* to the Persons of *Christians*, they desired that two Things might be done.

1. That the *Moriscoes* might be comforted and encouraged, by being assured, that the Misery they were under at present for being *New Christians*, would be taken away whenever they turned *True Christians*, and that notwithstanding they were the last that had come into the Lord's Vineyard, they might so demean themselves therein, as to have an equal Reward with those who had been in the Vineyard before 'em.

2. That such of the *Moriscoes* as were believed to be *True Christians*, might have Offices and Honours conferred on them, and might enjoy all the same Privileges and Immunities which are enjoyed by *Old Christians*.

3. That since the Mysteries of the *Christian Faith* were things of such a Nature, as could not be believed without a pious Affection in the Will, inclining the Understanding to the Belief of them; therefore in order to the converting of the *Moriscoes* to the *Christian Faith*, such Methods ought to be used as are proper for the begetting of such a necessary and pious Affection in their

Wills;

Wills; which it was certain could never be done by Force or Violence, the Will being a Faculty that cannot be forced: So that though Force both might and ought to be used in such Cases, for the removing of all outward Impediments to Peoples embracing of the Faith, it ought not to be used to force the Will; or if it were, it was to no Purpose, for they could not be constrained by it, to forsake a Religion wherein they believed their Forefathers had been saved, to embrace another Religion, the Evidences of whose Credibility they, thro' the Lowness of their Capacities, were not able to understand.

Lastly, That the *Moriscoes* being all but young Christians in the *Faith*, ought to be cherish'd and handled tenderly; and all that are employed in the converting of them ought, like skilful Physicians, to consider not only the Malignity of their Distemper, but the Strength also of their Patients, and not to administer Medicines to them which are stronger than they can bear.

And whereas the *Moriscoes* were accused of giving Intelligence to the *Moorish* Pirates, where they might come ashore, and meet with a good Booty, the *Barons* did, in the Name of the *Moriscoes*, offer to redeem all the Captives, which should at any time be carry'd off the Land of *Valentia*, by any of

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the *Moorish* Pirates, at the cost of the *Moriscoes*.

By these Remonstrances of the *Barons*, made in a *Cortes*, in the Year 1604. the King seemed to be determined not to expel the *Moriscoes*, but to go on endeavouring to make them all *True Christians*; and in order thereunto, so soon as the *Cortes* was over, he dispatched *Don Francisco de Quesada* to *Rome*, with an honourable Salary, to negotiate the Affair of their Conversion with the Pope, who at that time was *Paul V.* and from whom *Quesada* procur'd a *Breve*, commanding the forementioned *Moriscoe* College to be built and endowed, and the *Moriscoe* Curacies to be made an hundred Pounds a-piece yearly, to encourage Men of Learning and Probity to supply them. But this *Breve* of *Paul V.* had the same ill Success with the two former *Breves* of his Predecessor, which had commanded the same Endowments and Augmentations to be made.

The repeated Disobedience to so many *Papal Breves*, is enough to incline one to suspect, that the Popes, by whom those *Breves* were granted, though they did not know well how to deny them to the Kings when they supplicated for them, were not very zealous to have them executed; because if they had, they would never have endured

endured to have had their Authority baffled thus ; and especially in so great and tender a Point as this of their having a Right to apply all the ecclesiastical Revenues, as they shall judge to be most for the Interest of the whole Church ; and in a case too wherein their Authority, in such an Application, was backed by the King's. But whether the Popes, by whom all these ineffectual *Breves* were granted, were thus secretly minded or not, it is certain these *Breves* were entertained by the Archbishop, as if he had known them certainly to have stood so affected as to their Execution ; and who did therefore, instead of advancing the Arrear due on the Account of the last Pension wherewith his Bishoprick had been charged, give a Memorial to the King, wherein he pretended to reply to all the Answers which had been given by the *Barons* to his Arguments for the expelling of the *Moriscoes* out of *Spain*.

1. To the *Barons* having challenged those that accused the *Moriscoes* of holding a Correspondence with the King's Enemies ; to convict them of that treasonable Practice by a legal Tryal, that they might be justly punished for it ; the Archbishop reply'd, That in a case wherein both the Law and the Fact were so notorious, there was no

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need of observing the common Forms of Law and Justice. The *Moriscoes* Guilt in this Case being notorious, not only to his Majesty, but to all the *Old Christians* in *Spain*, who could not but observe the great Joy that was among the *Moriscoes*, when they heard of the *Turks*, or the *Moors* having obtained any Victories over the *Christians*, and particularly the *Spaniards*; and how that treasonable Joy of theirs had never appeared so barefaced, and so impudently, as on the Occasion of his Majesty's late general Loss in his Attempt upon *Algiers*.

2. To the *Barons* having said, that the *Moriscoes* being young Plants in the Faith ought for that Reason to be tenderly handled and cherish'd; he reply'd, That the *Moriscoes* were not young Plants, but old barren Trees, that were full of Knots of Heresy and Treasons; the youngest of them having been planted in the Faith above fourscore Years; and those about *Abula* and *Valadolid* had been planted in it ever since those Countries were taken from the *Moors*; and who were, notwithstanding that, as much *Mahometans* in their Hearts, as the *Moriscoes* of *Valentia*.

3. To the *Barons* having affirmed, that the *Moriscoes* had never been sufficiently instructed in the Christian Religion; he reply'd,

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ply'd, That if their meaning was, that they were not sufficiently instructed in the Doctrines of Christianity, because they would not learn them, that was very true; but if they meant, that they had never had sufficient means of Instruction, it was a great Mistake in them: And supposing it might be truly affirm'd of some of the *Moriscoes* of *Valentia*, that they had never had sufficient means of Instruction, it could not be so affirmed of them all; or if it could of all the *Valentian Moriscoes*, it could not of those of *Aragon* and *Castile*; and who, for all that, were known to be in their Hearts as much *Mahometans*, as if they had been born, and had liv'd all their Days in *Tunis*: And for the Truth of this, the Archbishop made his Appeal to the Inquisitors, who were ready to testify, that the *Moriscoes*, after having been for two or three Years daily instructed by 'em in the Doctrine of Christianity, did remain as ignorant of those Doctrines, as they were the first Day they were taken up and imprison'd by them.

4. To the Barons having said, that no other than severe and rigorous Methods had ever been used with the *Moriscoes*, to reconcile them to the Christian Faith; he reply'd, That was most false, and was demonstrated to be so by the late Edict of Grace which had been granted to them to no Pur-

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pose at all; affirming further, That the Antipathy which was visible in all the *Moriscoes*, both for the Persons and Religion of Christians, was too strong and too deeply rooted in their Hearts ever to be overcome by any good Offices.

Lastly, To the Barons having said, that to banish the *Moriscoes* into *Barbary*, was the way to make them all infallibly *Mahometans*; the Archbishop reply'd, That if the *Moriscoes* were not *Mahometans* already, though they should be all banish'd out of *Spain*, yet they needed not to go over to *Barbary*, but they might go into some other Christian Countries, as the *Spaniards* did that were banished: Whereas, if they were all already *Mahometans* in their Hearts, which they certainly were, it was much better that they should be so at *Tunis*, where their Example could do no hurt, than that they should be so in *Spain*, where it did much Mischief; some Christians, and of noble Families, having been lately perverted by their bad Example.

The Archbishop was seconded in these his Instances, by the Bishop of *Origuela*, who was one of his Suffragans; who exhorted the King to destroy all the *Moriscoes*, as followeth.

As

As it is notorious that the *Moriscoes* did never embrace the Christian Religion with their Hearts, so the great Danger we old Christians are all in, through our having such vast Numbers of those Infidels among us; and through the Treasons they are continually plotting against us, and the Rancor and Hatred wherewith they do abominate both us and our Religion, and the Affection they have for the *Moors* of *Africk*, and their great Diligence to discover all our Secrets, that they may communicate them to the Enemies of the Christian Commonwealth, ought to alarm a Christian Prince, so as not to delay to secure *Spain* against such domestick Enemies; it being much better and surer, as Cardinal *Torque-
meda* observed, for us to destroy the *Moriscoes*, than to continue doubtful and scrupulous whether we may lawfully do it or not, until we are destroyed by them.

But the great Trumpeter to the Expulsion was one *James Bleda*, a *Dominican Frier*, who for several Years was continually footing it betwixt the Courts of *Madrid* and *Rome*, to excite the King and the People to turn all the *Moriscoes* out of *Spain*, or to destroy them all in it; and as this hot-headed Frier did call all the Ecclesiasticks that did not
bark

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bark against the *Moriscoes* as loud as he had done, *Dumb Dogs*; so he did assure all the old Christian Laity, that whenever the King should give the Word, they might, without any Scruple of Conscience, cut the Throats of all the *Moriscoes*, and not spare any of them upon their professing themselves Christians; but to follow the holy and laudable Example of the *Croisado* that was raised against the *Albigenses*; who upon their having made themselves Masters of the City of *Bezeir*, wherein were two hundred thousand *Catholicks* and *Hereticks*, did ask Father *Arnold*, a *Cistercian Monk*, who was their chief Preacher, *Whether they should put any to the Sword that pretended to be Catholicks*; and were answered by the holy *Abbot*, *That they should kill all without Distinction, and leave it to God, who knew his own, to reward them for being true Catholicks in the next World*: which was accordingly executed.

The same Advice with this of *Abbot Arnold's*, was given to the *Irish Papists* by *Con à Mahony*, an *Irish Jesuit*, in a Book printed by him at *Lisbon*, but was pretended to be printed at *Frankford*, in the Year 1645; in which Book we meet with the following *Exhortation* to his Countrymen, to cut the Throats of all the *Protestants* in *Ireland*.

My

of the Moriscoes out of Spain. 85

My dear Irish, go on, and perfect the Work of your Liberty and Defence; which is so happily begun by you, and kill all the Hereticks, and all that do assist and defend them: You have in the Space of four or five Years, that is, betwixt the Year 1641, and the Year 1645, wherein I write this, killed a hundred and fifty thousand Hereticks, as your Enemies do acknowledge, neither do you deny it: And for my own part, as I verily believe that you have killed more of them, so I would to God you had killed them all; which you must either do, or drive them all out of Ireland, that our Holy Land may be plagued no longer with such a light, changeable, inconstant, barbarous, ignorant and lawless Generation of People. Neither was this Jesuit one jot more merciful to the King than he was to his Protestant Subjects; concerning whom he saith in the same Exhortation: We Catholick Irish will not, nor never would, neither ought we to suffer our Country to be ruled by a proud King, who calls himself the Head of the Church: Let us therefore chuse a Catholick King from among our own Brethren, and let us have Irish Catholick Judges and Magistrates to rule us in all Matters temporal, and the Pope in all Matters spiritual.

But to return to the Moriscoes:

The most powerful Promoter of their Expul-

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Expulsion, was *Don Bernardo de Roias y Sandoval*, Cardinal Archbishop of *Toledo*, and Inquisitor-General and Chancellor of *Spain*. This great Prelate, who was Brother to the Duke of *Lerma*, by whom the King, for some Years before, and for some Years after the Expulsion was absolutely governed; was so zealous to have the whole Race of the *Moriscoes* extinguished, that he opposed the detaining of their Children that were under seven Years of Age; affirming, that of the two he judged it more advisable to cut the Throats of all the *Moriscoes*, Men, Women and Children, than to have any of their Children left in *Spain*, to defile the true *Spanish* Blood with a mixture of the *Moorish*; and as it must be something more than ordinary that did carry a Prelate to *Rome* who was in such high Posts and Offices in *Spain*, and who had been a Cardinal for several Years; so it is more than probable, that the Business that carried this Cardinal Primate to *Rome*, in the Year 1607, was to engage the Pope, after the Example of his Predecessors, to promote the Expulsion of the *Moriscoes*, since they were not to be made *Christians*. For whereas the Pope had, on the King's Supplication to him, dispatched a particular *Breve* to every Bishop in the Kingdom of *Valencia*, to assemble and consult together
about

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about the effectual means of converting the *Moriscoes* to the *Christian Faith*, those *Breves*, which bore date the 11th of *May* 1606. and which were arrived at *Madrid* some Months before the Cardinal Primate began his Journey to *Rome*, were not delivered to the Prelates to whom they were directed before the 15th of *April*, in the Year 1608. when the Cardinal Primate was returned home; and as we have reason to believe, with new Orders from the Pope to the said Prelates to assemble together, not to consult about the most proper means of the *Moriscoes* Instruction, according to the forementioned *Breves*, but to give the King a Handle for the expelling of them all; and accordingly the *Valentian* Prelates did, after a Consultation of some Months, come to the following Resolution, which was privately remitted by them to the King.

The Moriscoes of the Kingdom of Valentia are all certainly Apostates from the Christian Faith, and are withal so obstinate and pertinacious in their Infidelity, that there remains no hopes of ever being able to convert them to it.

Upon this Resolution, being now come to Court, the Expulsion of the *Moriscoes* was absolutely determined, tho' it was not
I executed

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executed till two Years after; neither was its being determined known to any but the Cabinet Council, before the Vespers of its Execution, when the King had put his Affairs in such a Posture, as not to fear any Opposition that could be made to it by the *Barons*.

But though this impolitick Determination was owing chiefly to the Counsels of the Duke *de Lerma*, and his Brother the Cardinal Primate; the thing that enclined the King, who was naturally superstitious and timorous, to be so tamely led into it by his Ministers, was the loud and frequent Calls, he was told from all parts, the Heavens gave him to it, both in miraculous Signs and Judgments. For on this Occasion all the old fabulous *Spanish* Prodigies were revived and brought upon the Stage, and were with all other extraordinary Appearances and Events made Calls to, and Prognostications of the Expulsion of the *Moriscoes*; and all publick Disasters and Plagues were charged wholly to the Account of its having been so long delay'd.

The Archbishop of *Valentia*, who left no Stone unturned to bring about the Expulsion, attack'd the King on this blind Side in one of the Memorials he gave unto him.

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It is now, saith that Archbishop, three-score and twelve Years since I first went to study at *Salamanca*; and I do very well remember, that all the learned and grave Professors of that University did at that time blame the Carelesness of our Lord, the Emperor, and did all reckon, that God permitted the *Moriscoes* to remain among us, to punish, if not to destroy us, for our Sins; and I do farther affirm, that from that Day to this, I never heard any holy, religious and prudent Person, or one that was skill'd in the Arts of Peace and War, speak of the *Moriscoes*, that were not of the same Mind concerning them: Nay, so universal is this Opinion, that upon all new Appearances of Comets in the Heavens, or in the Air, and upon the *Bell* of *Vilila* having rung it self, and upon all publick Losses and Disasters, either by Sea or Land, all the *Old Christians* do immediately cry out, that *Spain* will be destroyed for suffering so many *Moriscoes* to remain in it: Thus God is pleased, by the universal Voice of his People, to make his Will known to your Majesty, as he useth to do in all such cases. The King was told likewise of prodigious Thunders and Lightnings, and of Tempests and Earthquakes that had been in several Parts of *Spain*, and of its having being legible in all of them, that they were
Judgments

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Judgments on *Spain* for harbouring so many Infidels: And as to the ill Success of the invincible Armado, which was sent against *England* in the Year 1588. the King was assured of its having been visibly a Judgment on the *Spaniards* on that very account: For God would never make use of the *Spaniards* to reduce Hereticks to the Bosom of the Church, so long as they suffered so many *Mahometan Apostates* to live among 'em: And the great Conjunction which was seen in the Heavens on the 24th. of *Decemb.* 1603, tho' it was seen all *Europe* over as well as in *Spain*, was said to have appeared for no other end, but to acquaint the King with God's Intention, to make use of him to destroy the *Mahometan Sect*, with all its great Empires.

I do affirm, saith *Francisco Navarra*, in a Book dedicated to the King, that what can be gathered from the late strange Conjunction in the Heavens, is the Diminution of the *Mahometan* Empire, and the great Declination of that Sect within twenty Years; that is, before the Year 1623, or the Year 1624, at farthest is expired; and before the Year 1661, that whole Empire will be at an End; and before the Year 1854, or 56, the *Mahometan Sect* will be totally extinguished; neither is the Beginning only of so great a Work reserved to your Majesty,

sty, as the wisest and most valiant of Kings, and the most firm Pillar of the *Faith*, and *Christian Religion*; but the greatest Part of it is to be accomplished by you, your Majesty being to conquer vast Empires, and particularly the *Holy Land*, which at this time is in the Hands of the *Mahometans*.

To this glorious *astrological Prediction*, if the King gave as much Credit as he did to the *Bell of Vilila*, a Village in *Aragon*, having rung it self for several Days together, to ring the Knell of the *Moriscoes*, and to the other prodigious Calls to expel them; his having done that is not at all to be wondred at; the securing of the Peace of their own Country, during their Absence, having been always the first Care of all wise and great Conquerors; which Care *Philip* would not have taken, had he, when he went to conquer those vast remote *Mahometan* Empires, and particularly the *Holy Land*, left as many *Mahometans* behind him in *Spain*, as there were *Moriscoes* in it. The Archbishop of *Valentia*, after having used all the Arts and Arguments that he could devise, to persuade the King to expel the *Moriscoes*, apply'd himself to the Pope, to engage him to promote it: And not being able, by Reason of his great Age, to go to *Rome* in Person to solicit it,

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he writ to the Pope, and sent his Letter by a particular Envoy of his own, in which Letter he told the Pope what followeth.

‘ It is now, most holy Father, seven and
 ‘ forty Years since I, tho’ unworthy, was by
 ‘ the Grace of God and this Holy Aposto-
 ‘ lical See promoted to the Dignity of a
 ‘ Bishop, two and forty whereof I have had
 ‘ the charge of this Church ; during all
 ‘ which time, tho’ I my self in Person, and
 ‘ by the Ministry of learned, religious, and
 ‘ holy Men, have try’d all ways possible to
 ‘ reduce the perfidious Hereticks, the *Mo-
 ‘ riscoes*, to the Bosom of the holy Church.
 ‘ yet they have never continued any lon-
 ‘ ger in the Faith, than from the Day where-
 ‘ on they were baptized, until the time
 ‘ they came to the Use of Reason, to which
 ‘ they were no sooner arrived, than thro
 ‘ the Instruction of their Parents, and of
 ‘ the other Ministers of that base Sect, they
 ‘ apostatized from our holy Religion, and
 ‘ with an astonishing Obstinacy embrac’d the
 ‘ *Mahometan* Sect ; and ’tis now above four-
 ‘ score Years since their Ancestors were bap-
 ‘ tized.

‘ All of them that are now alive were
 ‘ baptized in their Infancy ; during all which
 ‘ time Parochial Churches were erected in
 ‘ most of their Villages by your Holiness’s
 ‘ Predecessors ; Churches were also planted
 ‘ with

with Ministers and Rectors, to instruct them in the *Christian Doctrine*: Our Lords the Kings have also been extremely zealous to have procur'd their Conversion; and in order thereunto, an Edict of Grace was granted unto them by Pope *Clement VII.* and your Holiness, out of the pious Zeal God hath kindled in your Breast, did command me and the Bishops of *Tortosa, Segorve, and Origuella*, with several other learned, grave, and religious Persons, to meet together, to consult about the most effectual ways of converting them; but all this has been to no Purpose; for at the same time we were beating our Brains how to instruct them in the *Faith*, they were plotting Treasons against the King and his Kingdoms, and against *Holy Church*, holding Correspondence with the *Turks*, and the other Enemies of our *Holy Faith*, offering to assist them, and giving them Directions how they might conquer *Spain*.

But this old indefatigable Archbishop, notwithstanding he was clearly of Opinion, that there was no need at all of observing the common Forms of Law and Justice to convict the *Moriscoes* of the Apostacies and Treasons wherewith he had charged them, both before the King and the Pope; nevertheless, being sensible, that the Dispersion

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of so many thousands of Families as would follow upon the Expulsion, would fill the World with Horror, unless it were fully satisfied of the *Moriscoes* Treasons; he did therefore, as we have seen, advise the King, for his own Justification, to order a general Information to be taken all over *Spain*, of the *Moriscoes* Apostasies and Treasons; which, as it might have been done with very little trouble; so Care was taken by the Archbishop and his Confederates, that it should have answered the end for which it was designed; who had the following Articles in Readiness to have exhibited against the *Moriscoes*, if such an Information had been ordered.

I. *That they did all rejoice exceedingly, when they heard of the Turks, or the Moors having had any good Success against the Spaniards; and that this their treasonable Joy did never appear so barefac'd as in the Year 1601, when his Majesty's Fleet suffered so much before Algiers.*

II. *That there was nothing they commended so much as that Liberty of Conscience in all Matters of Religion, which is granted by the Turks and all Mahometans, and some Christian Princes to all their Subjects.*

III. *That whenever they thought they could do it with Safety, they did either murder the old Christians that came among 'em, and*

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especially old Christian Beggars, or did keep them in Caves, until they had an Opportunity of selling them to the Barbary Moors.

IV. *That the Images of the Saints, and the sacred Reliques, which had by the Order of their Visitors been left in their Houses, were so abhorred by them, that they were found many times in very indecent Places, with their Heads downward, and with Marks of great Contempt upon them.*

V. *When they were forced to go to Church they did express no manner of Devotion for the Sacrament, or the Images, or the sacred Reliques; and that a certain Moriscoe, who had fled to Algiers, had told the Spanish Captives, That they were much mistaken if they believed, that the Moriscoes, when they forced them to go to Mass, did worship the white Wafer which was shewed them by the Priest; and that instead of worshipping, they were still making Figos at it with their Fingers, under their Cloaks.*

VI. *That when they had a mind to fright their Children, they told them, That the Christians were coming to carry them away.*

VII. *That they were all extremely solicitous to provide Moriscoe Nurses for all poor Moriscoe Orphans; and when they were grown up, to put them to Moriscoe Masters; and that this was not done by them out of Charity, but purely to prevent their being made Christians.*

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VIII. *That none were so much honoured by them, as the Moriscoes that had been whipped publickly by the Inquisition, or had wore the St. Benito: And for the Truth of this, an Appeal was made to Father Lewis Yfila, the Master of the sacred Palace at Rome; who when he was Inquisitor of Valentia, having ordered a great Number of Moriscoes to be whipt publickly, one of their Number, that had escaped the Rod, refus'd to pay the Executioner his Fee, when he demand'd it of him; telling him that he had done nothing for it; and having by that means obtain'd the Honour, as he reckon'd it, of being severely whipp'd, he paid the Executioner his Wages very cheerfully. And that the same Master of the sacred Palace could testify, that when he was an Inquisitor in Valentia, a certain Moriscoe Woman was so far from being asham'd of the St. Benito, when it was put upon her, that she desired the Officer to let her have another of them to make a Child she had at home a Coat.*

IX. *That when any of the Moriscoes escaped to Algiers, or to any other Ports of Barbary, they were more zealous Mahometans, and did speak of Christians and their Religion with more Contempt, than the Moors themselves did.*

X. *That besides Alfaques, who instructed them in the Mahometan Law, they had Alcaides*

caides among them, who punished all that transgressed it..

XI. *That they reckoned no Corn grew so well as that which was sown on Sundays and Holydays.*

XII. *That they were such Enemies to Clocks and Bells, that they would not suffer any to be in their Houses.*

XIII. *That they did reckon it a great Sin in a Moriscoe to accuse any of his Brethren to the Inquisition.*

XIV. *To excuse their not sending for a Priest to administer the Sacrament to their dying Friends, they pretended their Friends died suddenly, and before they apprehended them to be in any Danger.*

XV. *That all, or most of them that died by the Hand of Justice, did, when they were brought to the place of Execution, if not before, declare that they died in the Mahometan Faith.*

Lastly, That they did all send Intelligence to the Barbary Pirates.

These, and a great many more such *Articles* would have been exhibited against the *Moriscoes*, had the King ordered a general Information to have been taken concerning them, as the Archbishop advised him to do, for the Satisfaction of the World.

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But the King and his Council being sensible that the Barons, if such an Information were commanded to be taken, would conclude, that it was in order to expel the *Moriscoes*, they judged it more advisable to neglect the Censure of the World, than struggle with the Opposition they knew they should have from the Barons, if they were acquainted with that Design before it was executed.

Among these *Articles*, one may venture to affirm, that there are some that are mere malicious Inventions, having either no Ground at all, or only that of common Talk; or at most, were the Facts only of some particular *Moriscoes*: But as to the two grand Articles of Treason and Apostacy, so far as I am able to judge, they were innocent of the first, as to all actual Treason; but were guilty of the last.

That the *Moriscoes* being in their Hearts *Mahometans*, might so rejoice, when they heard of the *Spaniards*, or any other Christians being worsted by the *Turks* or *Moors*, as not to be able wholly to conceal their Joy on such Occasions; and considering how cruelly they were used by the Inquisition, that they might wish *Spain* under the Government of any Prince, *Christian* or *Mahometan*, that would grant them Liberty of Conscience, are things so natural, that the
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Testimony of their Adversaries may be safely taken for their being true. But as it does by no means follow, that the *Moriscoes* were therefore actually engaged in any Treaty, either with the *Moors* or *Turks*, or *French*, or *English*, or *Dutch*, with all which Nations they were accused of having been in Correspondence, so as to invite them by Promises of Assistance to invade *Spain*; so I can see no Reason to believe, that they were ever any wise concern'd in any such Treaties or Correspondences: Of which, and of the Evidences the Court of *Spain* pretended to have of them, as to *France*, King *Henry* the IVth. of *France* did, in my Opinion, pass a very true Judgment; who having been told by the *Spanish* Ambassador, of his being in a Correspondence with the *Moriscoes*, in order to disturb the Peace of *Spain*, and of some *Moriscoes* having confessed as much at their Death; he made answer, *That that whole Business was an Artifice of the Court of Spain, which by the Extremity of Tortures had forced those Confessions from the Mouths of some unhappy Wretches, executed for other Crimes; or had thrust them into their forged Wills and Testaments; that when they should be found debauching his Subjects to commit Treasons, as it was visible they were doing at that time, they might have Matter to recriminate with some Appearance of Truth.*

But

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But though this might be one Reason why the Council of *Spain* did either forge such Confessions, or procure them by Tortures, or by Promises of a Pardon to Malefactors for other Crimes; yet considering that this was done when the Duke of *Lerma*, the first Minister, and his Brother the Cardinal of *Toledo* had set their Hearts extremely on the Expulsion of the *Moriscoes*, it is more than probable, that the accelerating and justifying of that Expulsion, was the chief Motive to that Artifice, as the *French* King called it, of forging or procuring such Testimonies.

As to the *Moriscoes* being in their Hearts all *Mahometans*, I cannot see any Reason to doubt of the Truth of that: For besides that they who were zealous against their being expelled, did not know well how to deny their being *Mahometans*; when they were charged with it by their Adversaries; the *Moriscoes* when they say there was no Remedy, but they must leave *Spain*, were for going no where else but to *Barbary*, where that Religion was profess'd; and whither they all went who were left to their Liberty to go to what Country they pleased, that was subject to the *Roman Church*, and not within the *Spanish* Dominions: And as they did all profess themselves *Mahometans* so soon as ever they were among the *Moors*, so we

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read of few or none of them, that ever fled back to *Spain*, or to any *Spanish* Garison in *Barbary*, which they might and would have done, or at least have attempted it, had they been Christians.

Now considering how long the *Moriscoes* had been Subjects to the *Spaniards*, those of *Valentia* having been conquered by them near four hundred Years before they were expelled; and considering the Pains and Charges the *Spanish* Princes had been at to make them all Christians, and the Severities that had been used with them; and especially after they were forced to receive Baptism, to oblige them to profess and embrace the Christian Faith; the *Moriscoes* obstinately adhering thus to the *Mahometan Sect*, is certainly a most wonderful thing: But as the strangest Events have their Causes, only they are not so easily discovered as the most common; so, with Submission to better Judgments, I do take the following Particulars to have been the Causes of this unusual Obstinacy of the *Moriscoes* in the *Mahometan Sect*.

I. *The Moriscoes having from the Day they were first conquered until the Day they were expelled Spain, lived in great numbers together, not only whole Villages, but some Towns and Countries having had few Inhabitants in them,*
that

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that were not of that Race; now by living thus together, they did both very much encourage and confirm one another in their Infidelity, and were much safer in it from the Inquisition, than they would otherwise have been.

The II. Cause of this strange Obstinacy, was a Consequence of the first, which was their continuing still to speak only the Arabick Tongue; which was the Case of most of their Women, and of all their Children. And as this was a great hindrance to their being instructed in the Christian Faith, few or none of their Curates, or of the Missionaries that were sent among them understanding any thing of that Language, so it still preserved the Memory among them, of their being the same People with the Moors, whose Language that was, and the Book of whose Law was writ in it.

The III. Cause was their living so in the Neighbourhood of the Moors of Barbary, that few Weeks passed without their hearing something or other of them, and of their Affairs; and whereas the Moriscoes did all know that Spain had been once conquered by the Moors their Ancestors, and did much value themselves upon it; so it is not unlikely that they might, after the Example of all conquered Nations, which are not become one People with their Conquerors, feed themselves still with Hopes derived from vain Prophecies, or idle traditional Stories of seeing
the

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the Moors at one time or other, Masters of Spain again.

The IV. Cause was the proud and foolish Care the Spaniards took to distinguish themselves from the Moriscoes, by calling themselves Old Christians, and the Moriscoes New Christians, and by excluding the Moriscoes from all Offices and Benefices, either in Church or State; by which Course they did both exasperate the Spirits of the Moriscoes against the Christians, and their Religion, and did keep alive among them the Memory of their being descended from the Moors, which was truly the chief Root of their Obstinacy in Mahometism.

The last Cause was the Spaniards adoring of Images, for which the Mahometans, as well as the Jews, have an invincible Aversion.

I do not, with the Barons, reckon the Cruelties which were exercised on the *Moriscoes* by the Inquisition, after they were forced to receive Baptism, among the Causes of their Infidelity; and the Reason why I do not, is, because such terrible Cruelties, though they cannot convince Infidels of the Truth of *Christianity*, but do rather prejudice them against it; they can nevertheless oblige them so far to dissemble, that they shall never dare to trust
their

their Children, or their Nurses with the Secret of their inward Unbelief: by which Means their Children will be brought up *Christians*, after the same Manner as they would have been, had none of their Ancestors ever been of any other Religion: this Effect the great and unintermitting Severities of the Inquisition would certainly have had on the next Generation of the *Moriscoes* after they began to be exercised, had it not been for their living together, with few or no *Old Christians* among them, to observe what they did.

Austine Salucio, a wise and learned *Spanish Dominican* Frier, was of Opinion, that the main Body of the *Moriscoes* were descended from the old Inhabitants of *Spain*, who, having in the Conquest of that Kingdom been subdued by the *Moors*, did, in process of time, lose both their former Language, and their Religion, and were incorporated so with their Conquerors, as to become one and the same People with them; and that it must have been so he thinks is very plain, from the *Moorish* Territories in *Spain* having been always very populous; and for some Ages before they were recovered out of the hands of the *Moors*, with few, or no *Christians* in them, which they could not have been otherwise, few, besides Soldiers, and those in no very
great

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great Numbers neither, and with very few Women, having ever come from *Barbary* into *Spain*: And as to the *Goths*, who were and had been Masters of *Spain* for some Ages, when it was conquered by the *Moors*, he saith, the most of them were either killed in the Battels they had with the *Moors*, or retired into *France*, and the northern and mountainous Countries of *Spain*.

This ingenious Thought of *Salucio's* is much confirmed by a Letter writ in the Year 1311 to the Council of *Vien*, by *James* King of *Aragon*, wherein he affirms, that of two hundred thousand *Mahometans*, who were at that time in the Kingdom, and City of *Granada*, there were not above five hundred that were descended of true *Moors*, all the rest being Descendents of *Spaniards*, who had apostatized from the *Christian Faith*, and had turned *Mahometans*. The same Frier is of Opinion, that the main Body of the present *Spaniards* must, for the same Reasons, be the Descendents of those *Spanish Moriscoes* who remained in *Spain*, after it was recovered by the *Christians*. To return to the Thread of the History.

The King, and the *Angel of his Great Council*, as the Friers call'd the Duke of *Lerma* on this Occasion, having fix'd the
1 Month

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Month of *September*, in the Year 1619, for the Expulsion of all the *Moriscoes* of the Kingdom of *Valentia*; Orders were secretly dispatched some Months before, to the Commanders in Chief of the Men of War, and Gallies of *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *Italy*, to have their Fleets ready to sail by *August* next, with a certain Number of Land Soldiers aboard them, which having been done under a Pretence of making some Attempt upon the Coast of *Barbary*, new Orders were dispatched to the Fleet of *Spain*, which were twenty in Number, and had on Board a thousand Soldiers, to sail to the Ports of *Vnares*, and *Albaques*: to the Fleet of *Naples*, which were seventeen in Number, and had on Board two thousand and seventy five Soldiers, to sail to the Port of *Denia*: to the Gallies of *Sicily*, which were nine in Number, and of *Portugal*, with fourteen Men of War, which had on Board two thousand four hundred Soldiers, being ordered to sail to *Alicant*.

The Barons, who had not the least Suspicion of these Preparations having been made to transport the *Moriscoes* of the Kingdom into *Barbary*, were first alarm'd by *Don Peter de Mercia*, Governor of the Citadel of *Antwerp*, a great Soldier, being sent from Court to *Valentia*, and *Don Peter de Toledo*, Admiral of the *Spanish* Fleet, being

ing sent at the same time to *Denia*, the first being to command the Land Forces, and the second the whole Fleet, when they arrived: And though they still pretended that their Design was to make a descent somewhere on the Coast of *Barbary*, the *Barons* did from several Circumstances gather, that it was only a Blind, and that their Business must be to transport all the *Moriscoes*: In which Suspicions the *Barons* were much confirm'd by their Archbishop, who it seems was in the Secret, laying in extraordinary Provisions of Meal, Wine and Fuel, and taking such a Number of Men and Arms in his House, as if he had expected to be besieged in it.

Upon this Alarm the *Barons* assembled themselves in the City of *Valentia*; which by the Constitution of the Government of that Kingdom they might do whenever they judged there was any Occasion for it; and after having spoke their Thoughts freely, concerning the great present Preparations, they dispatched some Deputies to the Marquis of *Carazena*, their Viceroy; desiring to know of him, what was the Meaning of them.

The Viceroy, though he was much troubled at the *Military Arms* being assembled (for so such Assemblies of the *Barons* are called) received their Deputies with great Civility;

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vility; desiring them to assure the *Barons* from him, that whatever his Majesty's Design was by the present Preparations, it was to promote the Honour and Interest of the Kingdom of *Valentia*; and that they could have no Reason to be jealous of the Court's having any ill Design upon their Liberties or Privileges, at a time when the Duke of *Lerma*, who was their Countryman, and had a great Estate among them, was the first Minister.

But the *Barons* not doubting, after they had received this Answer from the *Viceroy*, that the Expulsion of the *Moriscoes* was the thing that was design'd; and not being so certain that a first Minister would be faithful to the true Interest of his Country, as they were, that nothing could be more prejudicial to *Valentia* than that Expulsion; it was proposed, that they should immediately dispatch Deputies to Court, in their Names to remonstrate against it, as the worst thing that could be done to them, and the whole Kingdom. This Proposition was agreed to by the whole Body, the Count of *Tindel* and his Brother only excepted; who tho' they pretended to condemn the Expulsion of the *Moriscoes* as much as any of the rest, did oppose the sending of Deputies to Court, which, they said, would be taken ill by the King, and could signify nothing; it not be-

ing a thing to be imagin'd, that the King, after he had been at such vast Expences, should by any Remonstrances that could be made to him, be diverted from executing whatever he design'd thereby. This Opposition was taken most heinously by all the rest of the *Barons*; who told that Count and his Brother, that because they would suffer little, as to their own private Estates, by that Expulsion, having few or no *Moriscoe* Vassals, they were not concern'd for what the Publick would suffer thereby. But the Constitution of the *Military Arm* being such, that nothing can be done in it without the unanimous Vote of all its Members, the *Barons* adjourned till next Morning, without having done any thing.

The *Viceroy* having been inform'd of the great Heat the *Barons* had been in, he ordered the chief Judge of the *Chancery* to be present at their Meeting next Morning, to try to allay their Heat; and if it were possible, to divert them from sending any Deputies to Court: But the *Barons*, when they were assembled, notwithstanding all that Judge could say to them, did declare, that they would not be hindred either by Artifice, or unreasonable Oppositions, from discharging their Duty to their Country and Posterity.

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But as they were about to have named their Deputies, the Lord Chief Justice in criminal Matters came among them, and commanded them upon their Allegiance, to *adjourn and repair before Night to their respective Houses.*

But if the *Barons* were angry before, this unexpected Adjournment made them much more so; And having met again next Morning, they all drew their Swords so soon as they entered the Senate House, declaring, *They would not sheath them again before they had finished the Business they had met about.*

The Lord Chief Justice, who had been sent to them again by the *Viceroy*, as he was exhorting the *Barons* with great Vehemence to put up their Swords, and to behave themselves as became good Subjects, fell down dead in the Place where he stood, and never spoke a Word more.

Had such a sad Accident as this happen'd at this time to any of the *Barons*, as they were speaking against the *Expulsion*, it would have rung louder, as a Judgment, through all *Spain*, than the Bell of *Vilila* had rung on the same Side.

The Report at first was, *That my Lord Chief Justice was killed by the Barons in the Senate House*; but his Relations and others were quickly satisfied that it was not so,

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so, and that he had died of pure Passion, through a too violent Agitation of his Spirits.

But though the *Barons* were diverted for some Hours, by this surprizing Accident, from naming their Deputies, they both named them before they rose, and drew up their Instructions; the Substance whereof was,

That they were, in their Names, to assure the King, and the Duke of Lerma, that Valentia would be absolutely ruined, if the Moriscoes, by whom all its Work was done, should be turn'd out of it.

The Persons named for Deputies were *Don Philip Buyl, Baron of Munizes*, and *Don John Bellterra*, who having posted to *Madrid*, and obtain'd an Audience of the King, they delivered the Letters they had from the *Barons* to his Majesty, having delivered that they had from them to the Duke of *Lerma* before.

The King, after he had heard all that the Deputies had to offer against the Expulsion, told them, *They came too late, the Ban for expelling the Moriscoes of Valentia having been published in that Kingdom before that time, as it was the Day before*: The King told them farther, *That he had sent a Let-*

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ter to the Barons, which would satisfy them of the Necessity there was of doing it: Which Letter was as follows:

Our Venerable and Beloved,

YOU cannot but be sensible of the great Endeavours that have been used, thro' a long Series of Years, to convert the New Christians of this Kingdom, and of an Edict of Grace having been granted to them, and of all the other Means which have been made use of, to instruct them in our Holy Faith; as also of the ill Success of all those Endeavours, not so much as one of them, as is believed, having been converted thereby: On the contrary, their Obstinacy has gone on encreasing daily with an Inclination to plot the Disturbance of the Peace of these our Kingdoms.

Now the Danger and irreparable Damage which may attend our suffering these People to remain any longer among us, having been laid before me some Years ago, by several learned and holy Men, and who exhorted me to a speedy Remedy, and which they told me I was bound in Conscience to make use of; assuring me further, that I might without any Scruple of Conscience punish them all with Death, and the Loss of their Estates, for the Crimes whereof they were guilty; all of them being guilty of Heresy and Apostacy, and of divine and human Treason; nevertheless, not-

with-

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withstanding we might have proceeded against them with the Rigor that their Crimes do deserve, we continuing desirous, if it had been possible, to have reduced them by mild and gentle Methods, did, as you know very well, order a Junta to be held at Valentia, to consult together, to see whether any new Ways might be found out to convert them; that so we might not be obliged to banish them out of Spain: But while we were thus labouring their Conversion, we received Advice by several Ways, of their having sent Deputies to Constantino-ple and Morocco, to invite the Turk and Mu-ley Silem to come to their Assistance, with an Assurance of fifty thousand Men being ready to join them when they landed in Spain, who were all as true Mahometans as any in Bar-bary, and would all sacrifice their Lives and Estates in their Service; and to encourage them to enterprize it, they told them, it would be an easy Conquest, Spain having but few Men in it that were fit to bear Arms; and yet fewer that knew any thing of martial Dis-cipline: They have been guilty also of hold-ing a Correspondence with heretical and other Princes, who are Enemies to the Greatness of our Monarchy, having offered to assist both the one and the other with their Forces.

Furthermore, we are certainly inform'd of the Turks having concluded a Peace with the Persian, and with some of his rebellious Sub-jects,

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jects, that so he may be at Liberty to send his Fleet into our Seas, and that Muley Silem also has quitted his Kingdom, and is treating with the Northern Hereticks about Ships to transport an Army of Moors into Spain; which those Hereticks have promised to supply him with: Now in how great Danger Spain would be, if it should be invaded by these and some other Enemies, I leave you to judge.

Now considering all that has been said, and being desirous to comply with the Obligations we are under, to procure the Conservation and Security of our Kingdoms, and of this in particular, and of all our good and faithful Subjects therein, who are, of all our other Subjects, in the greatest Danger; and that the Heresy and Apostacy wherewith our Lord is so much offended, may be extirpated, after having recommended this Affair, and caused it to be recommended to God, trusting in his Divine Favour, in a Work wherein his Glory is so deeply concern'd; we have resolv'd to banish all the Moriscoes out of this our Kingdom, and that of Castile, in such a manner as you will be advertiz'd of; and with which, as good and faithful Subjects, I have ordered you to be acquainted; on purpose to make you sensible, that it is the Security of your Persons and Affairs, and to prevent the Dangers which do threaten you and them, and the great Love I have for you, that moved me to take this Resolution; the Execu-

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tion whereof cannot be delayed any longer, without running the Hazard of seeing Spain speedily invaded by so many Enemies; and particularly, the foremention'd Infidels.

We do therefore earnestly charge you, to whose Security and Repose the effectual and speedy Execution of this our Purpose will redound so much, to be assistant to it, as you shall be directed by the Marquis de Carazena our Lieutenant and Captain General of this Kingdom: And this I expect from the Zeal you have for God's Service and mine, and your own Preservation; and herein you will comply with the Obligations of faithful and good Christians and Subjects, and will perform the most acceptable Service you can do us.

As to every thing relating to the Execution of this our Purpose, we do remit you to our Viceroy; who shall in my Name direct you, and whose Directions you shall execute.

*From St. Lawrence, the 11th of
September, 1609.*

This Letter was on the 22d of the same Month delivered by the *Viceroy* to the *Barons*, who having the same Thoughts of the Treasons mentioned in it, as they had some Years before, when they called them *Speculations* and

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and *Chimeras*, were not at all satisfy'd with it, though the great Fleet and Army that were at that time in their Ports obliged them to submit to what it ordered.

And on the same Day the *Band* for expelling all the *Moriscoes* of the Kingdom was published by Sound of Trumpet in all the publick Places of the City of *Valentia*, and in a short time after in all the Cities and Towns of that Kingdom.

The BAND of Expulsion.

The King, and in his Majesty's Name,

Don Lewis Carrillo de Toledo, Marquiss of *Carazena*, Lord of the Towns of *Pinto* and *Ines*, Commendador of *Chicklene* and *Montizon*; Viceroy, Lieutenant and Captain General of the City and Kingdom of *Valentia*, for our Lord the King:

To all the Grantees, Prelates, Titulars, Barons, Knights, Justices, and Jurors of the Cities, Towns, and Villages, and to the General Bayliffs and Governors, and to all other his Majesty's Officers, and to all Citizens, Peasants, and all other Persons whatsoever:

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His Majesty in his Royal Letter, bearing Date the 5th of *August*, of this present Year, and signed with his own Royal Hand, and countersigned by *Andrew de Prada*, his Secretary of State, writ to me as followeth:

Marquiss de Garazena, our Cousin and Lieutenant, and Capt. General of our Kingdom of *Valentia*.

K NOW Ye, &c.

I do not here insert the King's *Letter* to the *Viceroy*, because it is, *mutatis mutandis*, Word for Word the same with that to the *Barons*, which I have set down at length, *Page 42*.

Now that this His Majesty's Command may be executed, and have its due Effect, We have commanded the following Band to be publish'd.

- I. **T**HAT all the *Moriscoes* of this Kingdom, Men, Women and Children, shall, within three Days after the Publication of this *Band* in the Place where they live and have their Habitation, depart and go towards the Place appointed by the Commissaries, whom

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whom they are to follow and obey, for their Embarkation; taking with them so much of their moveable Goods as they are able to carry; there to embark on the Gallies and Ships which are ready to carry them to *Barbary*; where they shall be landed without any Molestation, either in Word or Deed, to their Persons, or to the Goods they carry with them: and tho' whatever is necessary to their Subsistence shall be provided for them aboard the Ships, they may nevertheless lay in what Provision they please for themselves: with which *Band*, whosoever shall not comply, but shall violate it in any particular, shall be punished with Death.

II. If any of the said *Moriscoes* shall, after the Publication of this *Band*, absent themselves from the Places where they lived, they shall be apprehended by any Person that shall meet with them, and who are hereby immediately indemnify'd for the same; and in Case any of the said *Moriscoes* do offer to defend themselves, against being carry'd before the next Justice, it shall be lawful to kill them.

III. If any of the said *Moriscoes* shall hide, or bury any of the Goods they cannot

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cannot carry with them, or shall set fire to their Houses, Corn, Orchards, or Trees, they shall be put to Death by the People of the Place where it is done, and whom we do command to be the Executioners of it: His Majesty having been graciously pleased to grant all their Goods, moveables and immoveables, besides those they cannot carry themselves, to the Lords to whom they were Vassals.

IV. No *Moriscoe* shall, under Pain of Death, remove from the Place where he was at the Publication of this *Band*; but they shall all remain where they were at that time, until the Commissaries, who are to conduct them to the Sea-side, come to them.

V. For the Preservation of the Houses, Ingenio's of Sugar, Granaries of Rice, and Aqueducts, &c. and for the Instruction of the new Inhabitants that are to come, in all those Works; his Majesty, at our Request, has been pleased to grant, that in every Town where there are an hundred *Moriscoe* Families, six may remain, with their Wives and Children, provided their Children are not, or have ever been married, but are under the Tutelage of their Parents, and in their Proportion, more or fewer,

2 according

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according to the Number of Families in Places, only that number must never be exceeded. The Nomination of all the Families that are to remain, shall be left to the Lords of the Places, who must send an Account to us, of the Persons named by them ; and as to the *Moriscoes* that are to remain in Places belonging to the King, and to us, care will be taken to prefer the most ancient, and Husbandmen, and such as are supposed to be the truest *Christians*, or, that seem best disposed to be reduced to our Holy Faith.

VI. No *Old Christian*, nor Soldier, Native, or Foreigner, shall dare to treat any of the *Moriscoes* ill, either by Word or Deed, or to meddle with the Persons, Wives, or Goods of the said *Moriscoes*.

VII. None shall presume to hide, or conceal any of the *Moriscoes* in their Houses, nor shall be any ways assistant to their being concealed, or to their absenting of themselves, upon Pain of being condemned to the Gallies for six Years without Remission, and of other Punishments at his Majesty's Pleasure.

VIII. That the *Moriscoes* may be satisfied that his Majesty intends only to banish

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nish them out of *Spain*, and land them without any Vexation on the Coast of *Barbary*, we do permit ten of the *Moriscoes* that shall embark at the first Voyage, to return, to inform those that are behind how they were used; the same shall be observed in every Embarkation by the Captain General of the Gallies, who shall not suffer any Soldier or Mariner to abuse the *Moriscoes*, either by Word or Deed.

IX. Their Children, Male and Female, that are under four Years old, whose Parents, or if they were Orphans, whose Guardians are willing they should stay behind, shall not be expelled.

X. The Boys and Girls that are not above six Years old, one of whose Parents is an *Old Christian*, may stay, and their Mother with them, tho' she be a *Moriscoe*: But if the Father be a *Moriscoe*, and the Mother an *Old Christian*, the Father shall be banished, and the Children that are under six Years old shall remain with their Mother.

XI. They also may stay, who have lived among *Old Christians* for a considerable Time, and have not in the two Years last past been at any of the Meetings of the *Moriscoes*.

XII. They

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XII. They also may stay, who have with the Leave of their Prelate, received the most Holy Sacrament, and can shew a Certificate from their Parish Priest of their having done it.

XIII. His Majesty is graciously pleased to grant Leave to the said *Moriscoes*, to go into any Kingdom out of the *Spanish* Dominions, provided they depart from their Habitations within the time prefix'd.

This is his Majesty's Royal and fix'd Will; and that the Penalties of this Band be executed, and that they shall be executed without Remission; and that it may come to the Knowledge of all, that it be published in the customary Form.

Dated at the Palace
of *Valentia* on the
22d of *September*
1609.

By his Excellency's

Command,

Manuel Espinosa,

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The *Viceroy*, who of himself was no Friend to the Expulsion, no more than the other *Barons*, knowing how highly the Nobles and Gentry would be displeased with the Publication of this *Band*, and that it would make all the *Moriscoes* desperate, he did at the same time with the *Band* publish the following *Orders*, for the Security of the Peace of the Kingdom.

From the Gate of the Palace to that of the Jews, the Walls shall be guarded by the Regiment of the Governor Don James Ferrer, whose Guardhouse shall be the Cloyster of the Dominicans.

From the Gate of the Jews to that of Racafa, they shall be guarded by the Regiment of Don John de Castelni, whose Guardhouse shall be in the Hospital.

From the Gate of Racafa to that of the Innocents, they shall be guarded by the Regiment of Don Francis Juan, whose Guardhouse shall be the Port-House of St. Vincent.

From the Gate of the Innocents to that of the Tintes, they shall be guarded by the Regiment of the Conde de Casteller, whose Guardhouse shall be the Portall.

From the Gate de Tintes to that of Serranes, they shall be guarded by the Regiment of the Conde de Alagues whose Guardhouse shall be the New Gate.

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From the Gate of Serranes to the Palace, they shall be guarded by the Regiment of the Conde Bennel, whose Guardhouse shall be the Gate de Serrenas.

The Company of Hundred shall repair to the Close of the See Church and the Townhouse.

The Company de la Seca shall repair to the Market Place.

The Familiars of the Holy Office shall repair to the Close of St. Lawrence, and the House of the Inquisition.

The Gentlemen and Exempts shall repair to the Palace.

Five Companies shall be on the Guard every Night, one at the Gate of the Palace, which shall send Centinels to the Magazine of Arms; another within the Palace; another at the Gate de Serres, which shall send Centinels to the Magazine of Powder; and another at the Gate de Quarto; and another at St. Vincent.

The Soldiers, when they are upon the Guard, shall not leave their Posts for one Minute; and to prevent Disorders, they shall not be permitted to carry their Arms through the Streets when they go Home to their Houses.

The Gates of the City shall be shut at their usual Hour, and the four chief Gates, after they are once shut, shall not be opened with-
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out our Order, either by Word of Mouth, or Writing, and sent by the Serjeant, Major, or Adjutant.

None, upon Pain of Death, shall presume to make any Alarm; and if any do presume to do it, the Captains and other Officers shall assist to apprehend them.

The Main Guard shall not beat an Alarm until they have our particular Order to do it; and if there should be any such Occasion, Notice shall be sent to me of it, that I may judge whether it ought to be done, or not: For as this City can be in no great Danger but from a great Body of Men, so such a Body cannot approach near to it, without our having Notice of them before.

The Villages that are about the City must keep strong Guards; and in case of any Rumour of an Army, they shall come and tell me of it, and without saying any thing of it in the City, or to those that are upon the Guard.

In case there should be Occasion for a general Alarm, it shall be given by striking the great Bell in the See Church with an Hammer, and upon that Signal's being given, Candles shall be lighted in all the Houses, and be set in the Windows, and the Men shall all repair to their Colours; and the Women and Children shall all keep within Doors.

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And whereas the Suburbs, and the fifteen Convents of Friars and Nuns that are in them are the most exposed to Danger, we do order the five Troops, which are the Guard of the Coast of this Kingdom, to be quartered there, with their other Guards, a whole Troop of which Body shall patrol every Night; the Command whereof I do commit to my Brother Don Pacheco y Cavillo, the Marquis de Framista my Son-in-law, being appointed by me to be about my Person, to be employed as I shall see occasion.

The Marquis of

Carazena.

The Archbishop, who had been so great an Instrument in the promoting this Expulsion, to testify his Joy and Thanks for it, and to enflame the Old Christians against the *Moriscoes*, did on the same Day that the *Band* was published, publish the following Orders to be observed by his Clergy.

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We Don John de Ribera, by the Grace of God, and the Holy and Apostolical See, Patriarch of Antioch, and Archbishop of Valentia, of his Majesty's Council, &c.

To the Venerable Rectors and Clerks, and to the Reverend Fathers the Superiors of the Religious of this our Archbishoprick ;

I*T being manifest that his Majesty was moved to the Resolution he has taken of banishing all the Moriscoes out of this Kingdom, by his holy Zeal for the Service of God, and the Exaltation of his holy Catholick Faith, and for the Preservation of his Kingdoms, and of all his faithful Subjects in Peace and Tranquillity, we do trust in God, that his Majesty's Diligence in this Affair will meet with a ready Obedience, so as to compass the Ends at which it aims. And whereas this is a Matter of the highest Moment, both as to the Service of God, and the general Profit of these Kingdoms, it is just and necessary that we should all have recourse to God, beseeching him so to direct this Affair, that his own Glory and Honour may be thereby exalted, and his Majesty's Life and Health may be prosperous, and this his Royal and Holy Action may compass its Ends, and Heresy and Blasphemy may be confounded: I have therefore judged it to be convenient, to com-*

I 3mand

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mand all the Rectors and Clerks, and to desire and charge all the Superiors of the Religious, to have the most holy Sacrament uncovered in their Churches and Monasteries, on the Days hereafter appointed, and in all their Sacrifices and Prayers, publick and private, to recommend to God the effectual and speedy Execution of this his Majesty's Command :

On Sunday the 27th of September, at the Cathedral Church, and at the Convent of the Dominicans.

On Monday the 28th.

On Tuesday the 29th at St. Andrews, and St. Austins.

On Wednesday the 3d. at St. John's Hospital, and the Church of the Carmelites; and so on till the 21st of October, the Sacrament was uncovered every Day in two Churches in that City.

But besides this *Mandate*, there was another directed by him to all the *Rectors, Vicars, &c.* within his Archbishoprick, which was as followeth :

Reverend Father,

‘ **T** HIS will give you to understand,
‘ that his Majesty has taken a Reso-
‘ lution to expel all the *Moriscoes* out of this
‘ Kingdom; whereby the great and many
‘ bold Blasphemies against God and his Re-
‘ ligion,

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‘ligion, of which you that live among the
‘*Moriscoes* cannot but be sensible; and for
‘which great Plagues from Heaven, if not
‘the general Ruin and Destruction of this
‘Kingdom, might justly have been feared,
‘will cease.

‘His Majesty being enlightned by the
‘Holy Ghost; and in the first Place, hav-
‘ing God’s Service in his Eye; and in the
‘second Place, the Benefit of this Kingdom,
‘and the Security of its Inhabitants; not-
‘withstanding he might justly have inflicted
‘on them the Punishments which the Ec-
‘clesiastical and Civil Laws do appoint, for
‘*Hereticks, Apostates and Traitors*; He has
‘nevertheless, out of his customary Cle-
‘mency and Benignity, only banished those
‘that troubled us; which was according to
‘St. *Paul*’s Desire.

‘This I was willing you should know
‘from me, that you and all the other Priests
‘belonging to your Church, might return
‘particular Thanks to God for the singular
‘Mercy of his having given us so religious
‘and zealous a King; and to beseech him
‘both in your publick and private Prayers,
‘to preserve his Majesty, and prosper him
‘with good Success for the Service of *Chri-*
‘*stianity*: this Charge shall be given by you
‘to all the Priests and People in your Pa-
‘rishes, that they may supplicate his Di-

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vine Majesty to direct the speedy and effectual Execution of this Affair, wherein the Glory of his Holy Name, and the spiritual and temporal Benefit of this Kingdom is so much concern'd: You shall likewise with all possible Care and Diligence assist all the Officers that are or shall be employ'd by his Majesty in this Business, in all things relating thereunto; being always ready to comply with whatsoever they shall ordain, so it be not contrary to your Profession; and you shall let them know that I have ordered you so to do; and if you should want my Advice on any Occasion, you may, and I hope you will write freely to me for it.

And whereas our Lord the King has, out of his great Piety, and for the greater Security of his Royal Conscience, ordered all the Boys and Girls that are under four Years old, and if they and their Parents, or if they are Orphans their Guardians do consent to it, not to be expelled, as also all the Boys and Girls, who are under six Years old, one of whose Parents is an old *Christian*; their Mother, though she be a *Moriscoe*, being to remain with them; but in case the Father be a *Moriscoe*, and the Mother an *Old Christian*, the Father is to be expelled, and the Children that

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that are under six Years old are to remain
behind with their Mother; as also, none
of those are to be expelled who have lived
for a considerable Time, that is, for two
Years among *Christians*, without having
ever been at any time of the Meetings of
the *Moriscoes*, and none of these neither,
who have with the Licence of their Pre-
lates received the most Holy Sacrament,
having a Certificate thereof from the Rec-
tor of their Parish: All these Particulars
you shall take great Care to see executed
in your Parish; and if there shall be Oc-
casion, you shall let the King's Officers
know, that I have commanded you to
assist them in these his Majesty's Royal
Commands, neither need you fear that
they will have no regard to you, seeing
the most illustrious, and excellent, the
Marquis of *Carazena*, his Majesty's Vice-
Roy, has ordered them to be advised by
you. I do farther charge you to use all
Pity and Charity with the Children that
shall remain, in Obedience to what our
Lord has taught us, saying, *Suffer little
Children to come unto me, for of such is
the Kingdom of Heaven*: As to those, both
you and I are under great Obligations,
being bound to do more for our Sheep
and Parishioners than for others: In all this
I do hope you will discharge the Ministry
that

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‘ that is committed to you, and will so de-
 ‘ mean your selves therein, *that others see-*
 ‘ *ing your good Works, may be edified there-*
 ‘ *by*; and that I may have cause to thank
 ‘ you, both by Word and Deed, for your
 ‘ Care and Vigilance therein, of which you
 ‘ are to send me a particular Account, as
 ‘ also, of the Number of the Boys and Girls
 ‘ that are to remain in your Parishes, and
 ‘ of their Accomodations,

Given at our Archiepif-
copal Palace, the 22d
of Septemb. 1609.

The Patriarch,
 Archbishop of
Valentia.

The Archbishop not being satisfied with those Testimonies of his Joy on this Occasion, did preach himself in the *Cathedral Church* the *Sunday* after the *Band* was published; which was the Day whereon he had ordered the *Sacrament* to be uncover'd in it; his Text was those Words of St. Paul in the 5th Chapter of his Epistle to the *Ephesians*; *I wish they were cut off that trouble you.* This Sermon being little else than an Encomium and Justification of the Expulsion, I judg'd it would not be improper to present the Reader with it, as an Appendix to this History.

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As to the Children of the *Moriscoes*, of whom the Archbishop speaks here with great Tenderness, he was of several Minds about them. At first, when he began to solicit the King to expel the *Moriscoes*, he advised him to detain all their Children that were under ten Years old, and to sell them for Slaves in *Spain*, where they would be educated in the *Christian Faith*. But after having considered better on that Affair, and recommended it to God with more Fervor, he begged the King's Pardon for having given him that Advice; and desired that all the *Moriscoe* Children that were above five Years old might be expelled; because it was known by Experience to be a very difficult Matter to convert one to *Christianity*, that was bred till he was of that Age in the *Mahometan Sect*: And being afterwards farther enlightened, he advised the King to expel all the Children with their Parents, giving the three following Reasons for this his last Advice.

1. *Because it would be impossible to find Nurses for all the Moriscoe Children that were under that Age, there being at that Time in the Kingdom of Valentia above six and fifty thousand Moriscoe Children that were under five Years old. And in all Spain there were above forty thousand Moriscoe Children born every Year.*
2. *Since*

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2. Since great Numbers of Moriscoes, Men and Women, were for the Sake of some Works, and Manufactures to remain still in Spain, there would be no Possibility of preventing the Moriscoe Children being corrupted and made Mahometans by them.

Lastly, Because the Moriscoes were a People that were so extraordinary fond of their Children, and averse to their being bred Christians, that they would certainly rebel, if the Spaniards did offer to take their Children from them by Force.

To these three the Archbishop might, I suppose, have added a fourth Reason; which was, the Cardinal of *Toledo's*, who was the great Wheel of the Expulsion, being against any of the *Moriscoe* Children being left in *Spain*, to corrupt the *Spanish* Blood with the *Moorish*: So that any *Moriscoe*, old or young, was excepted, was owing to the *Viceroy's* Interest in the Duke of *Lerma*; which though it was not strong enough to divert the Expulsion, was able to procure all the Limitations that are in it.

After the *Moriscoes* were a little recovered from the great Consternation, the Publication of the *Band of Expulsion* had thrown them into, some of the chief Men among them met privately together at *Valentia*, to consult whether it was possible, to

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divert this terrible Storm that was come upon them so unexpectedly; the *Moriscoes* having for two Years before, that is, from the Time the Expulsion was determined at Court, been much less troubled about Religion than they had ever been before, since they were baptized: Their Adversaries having, during that time, winked at them on Purpose to have clearer Discoveries from them of their being *Mahometans*; by which Means few or none of them were capable of any Benefit by that Exception in the *Band*, of all those who had within two Years received the Sacrament, with a Licence from their Prelates.

It was agreed at this Meeting, that they should make an Address to the *Viceroy*; wherein, after having given him all possible Assurances of their Loyalty, and of their having never been in any Manner of Correspondence with the *Moors*, or with any other of the King's Enemies, they should offer a great Sum of Money to the King; and if his Majesty would be pleased to revoke the late *Band*, undertake to maintain a considerable Number of Gallies continually, and to build and maintain several Forts upon the Coasts to defend it against the Insults of the *Barbary Moors*, and of all the other Enemies of *Spain*; and that they would further redeem all the *Spanish* Captives that were at that time
Slaves

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Slaves in *Barbary*; and would for ever redeem all that should be taken by the *Moors* of the Land of *Valentia*: This Address was presented to the *Viceroy* by eight of the most ancient and venerable Men of that Assembly: His Answer to it was, *That it was to no Purpose for them to think of any thing but of yielding a ready Obedience to the Band, which the King was immovably determined to have executed.*

When the Deputies returned to their Body with this melancholy Answer to their Address, a general Rising of the *Moriscoes* all over the Kingdom was proposed by some hot Spirits among them, as the only Remedy they had left; but that Motion, considering the Posture the Government and they were in at that Time, having been rejected as Madness, they could think of no better Way to oblige the *Spaniards* to suffer them all to stay, than by persuading the *Moriscoe* Families, which were allowed by the *Band* to remain in *Spain*, not to accept of that *Grace*, if their Brethren were expelled, and so to leave the *Spaniards* to their Choice, to keep them all, or to have none of them.

This Expedient having in a very short Time been whispered into the Ears of all the *Moriscoes*, did work one of the suddenest and greatest Changes in them that was perhaps
ever

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ever heard of: The *Moriscoes*, who the Minute before had been on their Knees to their Lords to beg, that they and their Families might be named by them to stay, not being to be persuaded to stay, by all that their Lords could say or do to them; all of them to a Man declaring resolutely, that they would run the same Fortune with their Brethren, let that be what it would, and would stay if they stay'd, and go with them if they went.

This sudden Resolution of the *Moriscoes* made the Barons much more discontented than they were before; nothing having sweetned the *Band* so much to them, as the Exception that had been procured by the *Viceroy*, of *six Moriscoe Families out of every Hundred*; which was totally defeated by this. For tho' it had been so ordered, that the Corn-Harvest was in before the *Band* was publish'd, the Vintage was hardly begun; and as for the Sugars, and several other Manufactures, they were quite at an end, if none of the *Moriscoes* could be persuaded to stay so long as to instruct the old Christians in them; who were at present utter Strangers to them all.

And whereas the Duke of *Gandia* had a great Estate in such Manufactures, he did offer every sixth *Moriscoe* Family of a hundred within his Lands, what they should ask,
so

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so they would but stay with him; the *Moriscoes* told him, *That tho' they were very unwilling to stay behind their Brethren, yet if he would procure them Liberty of Conscience, so many Families as the Band allowed would remain in his Service; but that otherwise he would not be able to prevail with one single Moriscoe to stay.*

The Duke, tho' he had little Reason to hope that the King would gratify him in this, did petition the *Viceroy* for such a Liberty only for two or three Years, until some old Christians were taught by the *Moriscoes* how to work those Manufactures. The *Viceroy's* Answer to this Petition was, *That such a Liberty would not be granted for one Day upon any Consideration whatsoever;* for which Answer the *Viceroy* was afterwards thanked by the King.

The *Moriscoes* were not less obstinate as to their Children, when spoke to by their Parish Priests, to leave them in *Spain*: for when their Parish Priests went to persuade them to it, by telling them how incommodious and dangerous a thing it was to carry so many thousands of Children aboard the Gallies, that would be crowded and pester'd by other Passengers, and whose Nurses having never been at Sea before, would be so sick, that they would not be able to look after them; the *Moriscoes* Answer to them

them was, that though they believed all this, and a great deal more than they told them, of the Danger and Incommodity of carrying so many young Children aboard the Gallies that would be so pester'd, they were resolv'd their Children should go where they went; and that they had much rather see them die aboard the Gallies, or any where else, than leave them in the Hands of a People that had been so merciless to their Parents.

On St. *Francis's* Day a thing happen'd, if it was not designed, that had like to have eased the *Spaniards* of the Charge and Trouble of transporting the *Moriscoes*: Who, had it not been for the Viceroy's prudent Conduct, might have had all their Throats cut, upon a false Alarm that was given all over the Kingdom.

While the Viceroy was at St. *Francis's* Church, at Mass, a Man on Horseback, contrary to the Viceroy's express Order, came galloping with a naked Sword in his Hand through the Streets of the City, crying all the way, *The Moriscoes, The Moriscoes, The Moriscoes*, as if they had been entering the Gates; and after having thus alarmed the whole City, he came to the Church of St. *Francis*, and having alighted there, and gone in, he cryed aloud to the Viceroy, *there is a vast Army of Moriscoes, and*

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all well arm'd, within Sight of Sigos de Trigo, a Town within a League of Valentia, and who do cut the Throats of all the Old Christians, Men, Women and Children that they meet with: This Man had not made an end of his bloody Story, when an Express came to the Viceroy, with a Letter from the Alcaide of *Buraifer*, a Village belonging to the Archbishop, in the Neighbourhood of *Sigos de Trigo*, which confirmed all that the other had said of the Numbers, Nearness and Cruelties of the *Moriscoes* Army.

The Viceroy, who did not believe a Syllable of this tragical Story, tho' confirmed by a Letter from the Archbishop *Alcaide's* own Hand, and knowing, that if he should seem to give so much Credit to it as to go out of the Quire, the whole City would be put thereby in a greater Consternation, if it were possible, than they were in already; he continued in his Seat, and sent out his Brother, and some others that attended him, to assure the People that there could be no such thing, and that it was nothing but a false Alarm: The Gentlemen that were sent out by the Viceroy, after having endeavour'd in vain to satisfy the People, who were every where crowding into Churches and Convents to save themselves, ordered a Troop of Horse to go upon the
gallop,

gallop, where this great and bloody Army was reported to have been seen; who being come to the Place, met with the same Alarm there, but could see nothing like an Army, nor met with any Body that could tell them any thing more of it, than that they had been alarm'd in the same Manner as the City, and as the whole Kingdom had been at the same time, as was known afterwards.

We were not told of this false Alarm's having had any tragical Effects, only it is said, that after the Publication of the *Band* the Roads and Fields were every where strewn with the dead Bodies of the *Moriscoes*, some of them having been killed upon former Grudges, and some by the Soldiers, who had been employed by devout Ladies to help them to some of the *Moriscoe* Children, but most of them by the *Banditties*, who were at that time very numerous in *Valentia*.

The Commissaries that were to conduct the *Moriscoes* to the Sea-ports, where the Ships and Gallies lay ready to receive 'em, having been named by the Viceroy, they repair'd to their several Charges; and the *Moriscoes* of *Gandia* and of the Sea-Coast having been ordered to embark first, six thousand of them were put on Board the Gallies of *Naples*, and fourteen thousand

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aboard the Men of War and Gallies that were at *Alicant*, and eight thousand aboard the Ships and Gallies at *Vneros*.

The Fleet wheréon the *Moriscoes* were embarked, having join'd at Sea, had a very quick Passage to *Oran*, a Garrison belonging to the *Spaniards* in *Barbary*, where having been all put ashore, Deputies were sent to the Viceroy of *Tremezen*, to desire him to receive them into his Country, as a People who had been turned out of *Spain* for being of the *Mahometan* Religion; the Viceroy having received their Deputies with great Kindness, did immediately dispatch *Cid Almanzor* to them with 500 Ginets, and a 1000 Camels, to carry their Women and Children, and their Goods, if they had any: Which Order was executed by *Almanzor* with great Care and Tenderness; who did not suffer any of his Men, or any of the Country People to offer them the least Affront, or to do them any Injury in their Journey. When they were arrived at *Tremezen*, they were kindly entertain'd, and allowed all the Liberties and Privileges that are enjoy'd by the Natives, and which are still enjoyed by their Posterity, who are since become very numerous in those Parts: So that of all the *Moriscoes* that were expelled *Spain* at this time, these of the first Embarkation fared the best in *Barbary*:

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Barbary: Of which, and of their having been civilly treated aboard the Ships and Gallies, an Account, according to the King's Order, was carried back to *Spain* by ten *Moriscoes* that were of that Embarkation.

The King having being inform'd that his Fleet at two Voyages more, which were as many as it would be able to make that Year, could not transport one half of the *Moriscoes* of the Kingdom of *Valentia*, he ordered all the Merchants Ships that were at *Lisbon*, *Cales*, *Barcelona*, &c. to sail to the Ports of that Kingdom; great Numbers of Ships came also from *Genoua*, *Majorca*, and the other Islands, and were hir'd by the *Moriscoes*, who did not care to venture themselves on the King's Ships; by which Means all the *Moriscoes* of *Valentia* that were not in Arms, were landed in *Barbary* before the latter end of *November*: The transported at this time were in number an hundred and forty thousand Men, Women and Children.

A bold *Moriscoe*, whose Name was *Melini Sequeira*, having retir'd after the first Embarkation to the Mountains of *Sugar*, which were wholly inhabited by *Moriscoes*, he exhorted them to take up Arms, and defend themselves and their Families; and to die rather with their Swords in their

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Hands, than to go tamely aboard the Gallies, like so many Sheep to be murdered, as all the *Moriscoes* that had embarked had been, to his certain Knowledge. With this dismal Story *Melini* had in a short time got fifteen thousand *Moriscoes* together in a Body, who having proclaimed *Melini* their King, did all promise to live and die with him.

This *Moriscoe* Army, upon the Viceroy's having sent no Troops against them until the Embarkations were all over, is said to have grown very cruel and insolent, and to have murdered all the Priests and Friers they could lay their Hands on, and to have burnt publicly all the Images and Reliques that were in their Churches and Houses, and particularly the Images of St. *Vincent Ferrera*, who had preached many Years to their Ancestors: But so soon as the Embarkations were dispatch'd, *Don Anstin Mexia* was sent with a great Body of *Veteran* Troops to reduce them; and though the *Moriscoes* fought very desperately, and had the Advantage of the Ground, yet being both ill arm'd, and ill officer'd, they were quickly subdued; and their King *Melini* having been taken Prisoner, was sent to *Valentia*, where he was put to death as a Traytor.

There was another great Insurrection of the *Moriscoes* at the same time in the

Menla de Cortes, raised by one *Vincent Turigo*, with the very same Story: This was quelled by the *Conde Carlet*, with a great Slaughter of the *Moriscoes*; whose Leader *Vincent* having been taken, he murdered himself in Prison.

The *Moriscoe* Men and Women that were made Prisoners in these two Insurrections, were immediately embark'd, and put ashore on the Coast of *Barbary*; but their Children, who were a great many thousands, were sold by the Soldiers to the *Spaniards*, for ten, twelve, and fifteen Ducats apiece.

Upon this great Sale of *Moriscoe* Children, a hot Debate arose among the *Casuits*, whether it was lawful for those that had bought them, to make them Slaves? and the King inclining to the merciful Side, did by a Proclamation declare them, Not to be Slaves, and, *That they should only serve those that had bought them, and would give them a Christian Education, as many Years after they were twelve Years old, as they were under twelve when they were bought.*

A fierce Debate did arise likewise betwixt the *Viceroy* and the *Archbishop*, concerning those Children. The *Viceroy*, who thought *Valentia* was depopulated enough already, was for keeping all the *Moriscoes* which had been sold by the Soldiers, that were under fifteen Years old, affirming, *That being dis-*
K 4 *persed*

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perfed among the old Chriftians, and having no Parents nor Relations near them, to corrupt them, they would all of courfe become true Chriftians. But the Archbifhop, who pretended to know better than the Viceroy, after what Age there was no making a Mahometan a true Chriftian, was for having all the Morifcoes, that were above feven Years of Age, when they were bought, banifhed; and having writ to the King about it, he affirmed, *That if all the Morifcoes which had been fold by the Soldiers were kept in Spain, a great many thoufands of them being ten, twelve, and fifteen Years old, that after two or three Generations Valentia would be filled with Mahometans again.* The King, after having heard what was to be offered on both fides, gave Sentence, *That all that were above feven Years old fhould be forthwith transported into Barbary, as the Archbifhop had advifed.* With which Sentence the Viceroy was fo much difpleafed, that he fufpended the Execution of it until his Majefty was better inform'd; affirming to every body, *That it would be a lefs Cruelty to cut the Throats of all thofe harmlefs and helpiefs Creatures, than to leave them on the Shore of Barbary, with no body to take care of them, the Parents, and near Relations of moft of them having been killed in the late Infurrections.* I could never learn whe-

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whether this Command of the King's was ever executed, and so can only say, that if it was, we need not wonder at his having been under such great Terrors of Conscience when he was upon his Death Bed, as we are told he was.

The *Moriscoes* of the Kingdom of *Valentia* being all either banished or killed, on the 22d of *January* 1610, the *Band* for expelling all the *Moriscoes* in the Kingdom of *Granada*, *Murcia*, and *Sevil*, was published by the Marquis of *St. German*, in the form following :

The KING :

‘ **A**S Reason of State does oblige in
‘ Conscience to exterminate all things
‘ out of Kingdoms and Commonwealths
‘ that are scandalous and prejudicial to good
‘ Subjects, and dangerous to the Govern-
‘ ment, and offensive to God ; so it is ma-
‘ nifest from Experience, that all those Mis-
‘ chiefs have happened to the Kingdoms of
‘ *Granada*, *Murcia*, and *Sevil*, by means
‘ of the *Moriscoes* that live in them ; who
‘ besides their being descended from those
‘ who rebelled in the Kingdom of *Granada*,
‘ and who begun their Rebellion with mur-
‘ dering and martyring all the *Priests* and
‘ *Old Christians* they could lay their hands
‘ upon ;

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' upon; and did invite the *Turk* to come
 ' and assist them; and who, that they might
 ' repent of their Wickedness, and live peace-
 ' ably and honourably, after the Manner of
 ' Christians, were removed out of that King-
 ' dom, having had such things prescribed to
 ' them, as were sufficient to have produced
 ' that Effect, have deny'd to yield Obedi-
 ' ence to our Orders, or to embrace our
 ' Faith, but have to the great Dishonour of
 ' God, gone on detesting it, as is manifest
 ' from the great Multitudes of the *Moris-*
 ' *coes* that have been punished by the Office
 ' of the Holy Inquisition: And who besides
 ' their having committed divers Robberies
 ' and Murthers on the Persons of Old Chri-
 ' stians, have sent Deputies to the *Turks* to
 ' desire his Assistance; having also solicited
 ' other Princes to send them Succours, of-
 ' fering them their Persons and Estates if
 ' they would assist them; which treasonable
 ' Counsels having never been discovered by
 ' any of them, but on the contrary con-
 ' ceal'd and deny'd by them all, is a mani-
 ' fest Proof of their being all alike minded
 ' and affected as to the Obedience they owe
 ' to God and Us, and to the Security of
 ' these Kingdoms.

' All which having been consider'd, toge-
 ' ther with the strict Obligation we are un-
 ' der to procure the Conservation and Good
 ' of

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of our Subjects, and being desirous to comply with that Obligation; We have, with the Advice of divers learned, pious and prudent Persons, and who are very zealous for God's Service and Ours, determined to banish out of the Kingdoms of *Granada*, *Murcia*, and *Sevil*, and out of the Town of *Hornares*, all the New Christian *Moriscoes*, Men, Women and Children, that live in them: It being expedient, when any heinous or detestable Crimes are committed by some particular Persons of a Community; to dissolve the said Society, and to exterminate all those, great and small, who do subvert the Orders of good Government, to prevent the spreading of their Contagion.

We do therefore, by vertue of these, ordain and command all New Christians, without Exception, living or residing within the Kingdoms of *Granada*, *Murcia*, and *Sevil*, and in the Town of *Hornares*, of whatsoever Age or Sex, as well Natives as Strangers, whensoever, or for whatsoever Cause they came into them, Slaves only excepted, within 30 Days after the publication of these our Letters, to depart out of all the Kingdoms and Dominions of *Spain*, with their Sons and Daughters, Men-servants and Maid-servants, and with all of their Family that are of the *Moriscoe* Race;

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‘ Race; neither shall they at any time here-
 ‘ after presume to return to live in them,
 ‘ or pass through them, or any part of them:
 ‘ and we do prohibit them to go through
 ‘ the Kingdom of *Valentia*, or *Aragon*, or
 ‘ to presume to stay in them: And in case
 ‘ any of them shall after the Expiration of
 ‘ the said Term be found in any of our King-
 ‘ doms and Dominions, they shall be punish-
 ‘ ed with Death, and have their Estates con-
 ‘ fiscated, to be disposed of at our Pleasure;
 ‘ which Punishments they shall incur *ipso*
 ‘ *facto*, without farther Sentence, Process, or
 ‘ Declaration.

‘ And we do farthermore prohibit all
 ‘ Persons, of whatsoever Quality, State, or
 ‘ Pre-eminence in any of our Kingdoms, to
 ‘ receive or entertain, or after the expi-
 ‘ ration of the said Term, publicly or pri-
 ‘ vately, to protect any of the *Moriscoes*,
 ‘ Men or Women, within any of their
 ‘ Houses or Precincts, upon Pain of forfeiting
 ‘ all their Goods, Vassals, Castles, and other
 ‘ Inheritances, as also, all the Graces we
 ‘ have bestowed on them, to our Trea-
 ‘ sury.

‘ And notwithstanding we might justly
 ‘ have commanded all the Goods, movea-
 ‘ ble and immoveable, of the said *Moriscoes*,
 ‘ being the Goods of Traitors, guilty of
 ‘ both divine and human Treason, to
 ‘ have

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have been confiscate to our Treasury:
Nevertheless being willing to treat them
with Clemency, Our Will is, that with-
in the Term of thirty Days, they may
sell their moveable Goods, and such as
do move themselves, and may carry the
Price thereof with them, but not in Mo-
ney, Gold, or Silver, nor in Jewels, nor
in Bills of Exchange, but in Commodi-
ties that are not prohibited, and which
shall be bought of the Natives of these
Kingdoms, and not of others, and shall
be likewise of the Growth of these King-
doms. And the said *Moriscoes* and *Mor-
isca's* may, during the Term of the said
thirty Days, dispose of themselves and
such Goods, and may change them for
the said Commodities and Fruits, and may,
paying the customary Duties, carry with
them what they have bought, reserving
all their immoveable Goods to Ourself,
to be laid out for the Service of God, and
the Good of the Publick, as shall be judg-
ed most convenient: We do declare, that
We do take their Persons, and all their
Goods, during the said Term, under Our
Protection, and Royal Publick Faith, that
they may, during the said Time, go about
in Safety and Security, and may change
or alienate the said moveable Goods, or
which do move themselves, and may lay
out

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' out the Price thereof, whether in Gold,
 ' Silver, or Jewels, in buying the Com-
 ' modities of these Kingdoms of the Na-
 ' tives, and that they may not, during the
 ' said Term, be any ways injured in their
 ' Persons or Goods, under the Penalties
 ' incurred by those that do violate the
 ' Royal Publick Faith. And we do further-
 ' more grant Power and License to the said
 ' *Moriscoes* of both Sexes, to carry the said
 ' Commodities and Fruits out of these
 ' Our Kingdoms and Dominions, either by
 ' Sea or Land, paying the customary Du-
 ' ties for them; provided, as is abovesaid,
 ' that they export no Gold, Silver, or
 ' stampd Money, or any other Commodities
 ' prohibited by the Laws of these our King-
 ' doms, either in Specie, or in Bills of Ex-
 ' change, nor no other Goods and Fruits
 ' that are prohibited; only they may carry so
 ' much Money with them as is necessary
 ' to the defraying of the Charges of their
 ' Journey by Land or Sea: And we do
 ' command all the Ministers of Justice of
 ' these Kingdoms, and all the Commanders
 ' of our Gallies and Galleons, to cause all
 ' the foresaid Orders to be observed and ful-
 ' fill'd, and to yield all convenient Favour
 ' and Assistance to the due and speedy Ex-
 ' ecution of the same.

' And we do command these our Letters,
 ' and

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‘ and all that is contained in them, to be
‘ published by the Mouth of a Cryer, that
‘ they may come to the Knowledge of all,
‘ and none may pretend Ignorance.

Given at *Madrid*,
the 9th of *De-*
cember, 1609.

I, The K I N G.

Andrew de Prada.

Notwithstanding the *Moriscoes* were commanded by this *Band* to take all their Children with them; the Marquess of *St. Germane* had a secret Order from the King, To stop the Children, Male and Female, that were under seven Years Old; of all the *Moriscoes* that freighted Ships to carry them and their Families to *Barbary*, or to any Country that was not subject to the Pope. But the *Moriscoes* having had some Intelligence of this Order, all of them that had Children under that Age, freighted Ships, or took their Passage for *France*, or *Italy*: to which Countries the most of them never went; having after they were at Sea, made a new Bargain with the Masters of the Ships, to put them ashore in *Barbary*; and those that did go to *Italy* with their Families, made no stay there,
but

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but did pass over to *Barbary* by the first Opportunity that offer'd.

The King's having given leave to these *Moriscoes* to sell all their moveable Goods, and all that did move themselves, and to carry the Price of those Goods away with them, in the Fruits and Manufactures of *Spain* bought of the Natives, tho' it looked like a Favour, was of very little Benefit to them; for being so limited, the Natives bought the *Moriscoes* Goods very cheap, and sold their own very dear.

On the 29th of *May* 1610, the *Band* for the Expulsion of all the *Moriscoes* in the Kingdom of *Aragon* was published by *Gaston de Moncada*, Marquess of *Aytana*, Viceroy of that Kingdom; by which *Band* sixteen thousand Families were turned out of the Kingdom of *Aragon*: And on the same Day the *Band* for expelling all the *Moriscoes* in the Principality of *Catalonia* was published by *Don Hector Pignatello*, Duke of *Monteleon* the Governor: Which two *Bands* of Expulsion being almost Word for Word the same with that of *Valentia*, I shall not here insert them.

By a Letter bearing Date the 2d of *January* 1610, the King gave leave to all the *Moriscoes* in *Old* and *New Castile*, *Estremadura*, and *Mancha*, to sell all their moveable Goods, and go into *France*; but as there

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was not one *Moriscoe* Family that made use of that surprising Licence, so had they offered to have done it, it is more than probable that they would have been stopt; this Licence having been granted for no other End, but to discover how the *Castilian Moriscoes* stood affected to the *French*, with whom the Court of *Spain*, to justify their expelling of them, would needs have them to be in a Correspondence.

Upon the *Moriscoes* not having left *Spain* when they had leave, they were all expelled by the following *Band*, which was published on the 11th of *July* 1610.

The King.

‘ **W** Hereas we have commanded the
‘ Expulsion of all the new Christi-
‘ ans and *Moriscoes*, Men and Women, who
‘ lived in the Kingdoms of *Valentia*, *Anda-*
‘ *lusia*, *Granada*, *Murcia*, *Catalonia*, and
‘ *Aragon*; for the Reasons and Causes men-
‘ tioned in the several Bands, We did order
‘ to be published, and we did also give Per-
‘ mission to all of that Race inhabiting in
‘ the Kingdoms of Old and New *Castile*,
‘ *Estremadura*, and *Mantha*, to go, if they
‘ had a mind to it, out of these our King-
‘ doms and Dominions; and having been
‘ by divers certain Ways informed, that such
‘ of them as have not made use of that Li-
‘ VOL. I. L cence,

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cence, do continue in quiet, and do go
 on selling their Estates with an Intention
 of leaving these Kingdoms, and being sa-
 tisfy'd, that the *Moriscoes* all over *Spain*
 were all affected alike as to God's Service
 and ours, and the Good of these King-
 doms; all the Endeavours that have been
 used through a long Series of Years to
 convert them, and the Examples of the
 old Christians, the Natives of these King-
 doms, who do live so christianly and so
 loyally, having had no good Effect upon
 them: On the contrary, they have with
 a strange Obstinacy and Obdurateness en-
 tred into Conspiracies against us, our Roy-
 al Crown, and these our Kingdoms of
Spain, having solicited the Turk and other
 Princes for Succours, with Promises to
 serve them with their Lives and Fortunes.
 And notwithstanding this undutiful Beha-
 viour, which is so offensive to God, has
 been laid before us, by Men of great Piety
 and Learning, and who have further assu-
 red us, that we were bound in Conscience
 to remedy it, and might without any
 Scruple proceed against them, with the
 Rigour that their Crimes do deserve, and
 so punish them all with Death and the
 Confiscation of their Estates, as Hereticks,
 Apostates, and Traitors both to God and
 us: Nevertheless, we not being willing

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to use Rigour, but to use Clemency with them, after having recommended this Affair to God, whose Honour is so much concerned in it, we have resolved for the Security of our Kingdoms, and of our good and loyal Subjects, with the Advice of our Council of State and Prelates, and other prudent Persons, zealous for God's Service and ours, to expel out of the said Kingdoms of Old and New *Castile*, *Estremadura*, and *Mancha*, all the New Christians of *Valentia*, *Granada*, and *Aragon*, that live therein; Men, Women and Children; it being reasonable when any heinous and detestable Crime is committed by some of the Members of a Society or Community, to dissolve the Society for it, the lesser suffering with, and for, the greater; or when any do corrupt Countries, Cities, or Villages, that they be banish'd out of them, to prevent the spreading of their Contagion.

We do therefore by Virtue of this present, Or of a Copy of it signed by a publick Notary, command and ordain all the said new Christians and *Moriscoes* of *Granada*, *Valentia*, and *Aragon*, living in the said Kingdoms of Old and New *Castile*, *Estremadura*, and *Mancha*, Men and Women, of whatsoever Age, or for whatsoever Cause they did come into and reside

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in the said Kingdoms, within 60 days after the Publication of this Writing, to go out of *Spain*, and all the Dominions thereof, with their Sons and Daughters, and all their Servants that are of the *Moriscoes* Race; neither shall any of them hereafter ever presume to return into them, or into any part of them, either to live or pass thro' them; which Command is not to be so understood, as to expel any Christians that are married to *Moriscoes*, or their Husbands, Wives, or Children, nor any of the *Moors* who have come of their own accord from *Barbary*, that they might profess Christianity, nor any of the *Moriscoes* that are Clerks, Friers or Nuns, nor such of them as are Slaves of the Rebellion of *Granada*.

And we do prohibit the *Moriscoes* that are to be expelled to pass thro' the Kingdoms of *Valentia*, *Aragon*, or *Castile*, but to repair to the Ports of the Kingdoms of *Murcia*, *Granada*, and *Andalusia*; or to return into any of our Kingdoms upon Pain of Death. And in Case any of them shall after the Expiration of the said Term be found in any of our Kingdoms, they shall be put to Death, and their Estates shall be forfeited and apply'd to such Uses as we shall judge fit: To which Punishments we do deliver them, as Persons condemned

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de facto, without any Process, Sentence, or Declaration.

And we do prohibit all Persons, of whatsoever State, Quality, Preheminence, or Condition, publickly or privately, to receive, entertain, or protect any *Moriscoe* or *Morisca*, after the Expiration of the said Term, in any of their Lands or Houses, or in any other Place, upon Pain of forfeiting all their Goods, Vassals, Fortresses, and other Inheritances, together with all their Pensions to my Treasury. And notwithstanding we might justly have seized on all the Goods of the said *Moriscoes*, Moveables and Immoveables, as on the Goods of People guilty both of divine and human Treason; nevertheless, being willing to use Clemency with them, it is our Pleasure that they may, during the Term of the said 60 Days, sell all their moveable Goods, and all that do move themselves, and carry their Prices with them, but not in Money, Gold, Plate, or Jewels, nor in Bills of Exchange, but in such Commodities as are not prohibited, and are bought of the Natives of these Kingdoms, and of none else; and the *Moriscoes* and *Moriscas* may, during the Term of the said 60 Days, dispose of their moveable Goods, and of those that do move themselves; and with the Price of them may buy the said Commodities and Fruits

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of the Country, and carry away with them those they buy so, their real Estates being forfeited to our Treasury, to be apply'd to the Service of God, and of the Publick, according to our Directions; and we do declare, that we do take, and do receive them under our Protection, Royal Security, and Defence; and do so secure them and their Goods, that they may go about safely, and sell, change, or alienate all their said moveable Goods, or that do move themselves, may lay out the Money, Gold, Plate, or Jewels they receive for them, on Commodities bought of Natives of the Country; neither will we suffer any, during the said Term, to offer them any Injury in their Persons or Goods, under the Penalties suffered by the Violaters of the publick Faith.

And we do farther grant Licence and Power to the said *Moriscoes* of both Sexes, to carry the said Commodities and Fruits out of these Kingdoms either by Sea or Land, paying the customary Duties for them; and notwithstanding it is against the Laws of our Kingdoms to export any Gold, Silver, or Jewels out of them, we do grant them Licence to export them provided it be all registred, and the one half be paid to our Treasury at the Port where they embark, where an Officer shall

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shall be appointed to receive it, as has been done by the other *Moriscoes* that were banished.

And we do command all Magistrates and Justices, and all the Commanders of Gallies and Galleons, to see that all that is here ordered be observed and fulfilled, and to yield all convenient Favour and Assistance to the due and speedy Execution of the same.

We do command these our Letters, and all that is contained therein, to be published by the Voice of a Cryer, that so none may pretend Ignorance.

Given at *Aranda* the
10th of *July* 1610.

I the King.

Anthony De

The *Spanish* Historians are not agreed about the Number of the *Moriscoes* that were expelled *Spain* at this Time; some say they were a Million, others, that they were nine hundred Thousand; but by the most they are said to have been six hundred Thousand Men, Women and Children, besides the slain and detain'd.

This great Loss of People falling upon a
Country

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Country that was far from being overstock'd with People before (which in Truth no Nation can be) and excepting those that were expelled, had few that were industrious, or that were skilled in most of her profitable Manufactures, it was such a fatal Blow to *Spain*, that she has not to this Day, nor is she ever like to recover it; for as it is visible to every Body that *Spain* is not a Quarter peopled, nor is ever like to be, so long as she has such prodigious Numbers of Priests, Monks, Friers, Nuns, &c. and has the great and constant Drains of the *Indies*, *Flanders*, and *Italy*: So it is no less visible, that her Scantling of People are by their Pride and Superstition, more than by their Climate, made so lazy, that nothing, no not her being the sole Mistress of all the Treasures of the *Indies*, can ever make her rich; which vast Treasures, tho' dug and brought into *Europe* by none but *Spanish* Subjects, can never stay in *Spain* while the *Indies*, from whence they are brought, are supply'd with Goods, not manufactured in *Spain*, but in foreign Countries.

It was not long after these Expulsions, that *Spain* began to feel the bad Effects they had upon her, as is plain from a Memorial delivered in the Year 1618. to *Philip* the 3d. by a *Junta* that had been assembled by the King, to consider how the ruinous Estate

of

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of his Kingdoms might be remedy'd; the Memorial begins with the following Complaint.

‘ **T**HE Depopulation and Want of
‘ People in *Spain* is at present much
‘ greater than was ever seen or heard of be-
‘ fore, in the Reigns of any of your Maje-
‘ sty’s Progenitors; it being in Truth so
‘ great at this Time, that if God do not
‘ provide such a Remedy for us, as we may
‘ expect from your Majesty’s Piety and Wis-
‘ dom, the Crown of *Spain* is hastning to
‘ its total Ruin and Destruction; nothing
‘ being more visible than that *Spain esta a*
‘ *pique de dar in terra*, that is, *is on the*
‘ *Point of falling flat on the Ground*, its
‘ Houses being in Ruins every where, and
‘ without any Body to rebuild them, and
‘ its Towns and Villages do lye like so many
‘ Desarts.

In the same Year whereon this melan-
choly Memorial was delivered to the King,
the Duke of *Lerma*, the chief Author of all
these depopulating Expulsions, was turned
from Court, and out of all his Offices, his
chief Confident and Counsellor *Don Rodri-
go Calderon*, being committed at the same
time to Prison, was, after two Years and a
half Imprisonment, put to Death publick-
ly

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ly in the great *Placa* of *Madrid*; the Duke his Patron's Head having been secured, by the Pope's having covered it with a Cardinal's Hat, after he began to find itself in Danger, which was not many Weeks before his falling into Disgrace.

His Brother the Cardinal Archbishop of *Toledo*, who had been a zealous Promoter of the Expulsions, died, a few Days after the Duke was turn'd from Court, purely of Grief and Discontent: There was also one *Baltasar de Sandoval* Dean of *Toledo* who was either Brother or near Kinsman of the Duke's, and who after the Expulsions was made a Cardinal by *Paul* the 5th, so that there were three Cardinals living at the same Time of the Family of *Lerma*, which is more than any Family, the Pope's own Family not excepted, has to boast of; so great a Service was the Expulsion of the *Moriscoes* reckoned to be by the Court of *Rome*.

King *Philip*, who died soon after, is said, by a famous *Spanish* Historian, to have had his Conscience upon his Death-Bed overwhelm'd with Horrors: And though we are not told by any, what it was that caused them; yet considering, that besides these inhuman Expulsions, we read of nothing in his whole Life that was black or tragical; it may reasonably be presumed, that

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it was the Memory of the Expulsions that disquieted his Conscience so much: Neither is it any wonder that they should do it; to have, contrary to all the Laws of Religion and Humanity, made above an hundred thousand Families miserable beyond Expression being a dreadful thing to reflect on, when one is summoned by Death to answer for it before the divine Tribunal; where they are to have Judgment without Mercy, who have shewed no Mercy to their Fellow Creatures,

A SER-

A

SERMON

Preached in the

Cathedral of *Valentia*,

By the Archbishop of that City:

On the *Sunday* after the *Band* for
the Expulsion of the *Moriscoes*
out of that Kingdom was pub-
lished.

Praised be the most Holy Sacrament:

THO' the Gospel of the Day is full of
Doctrin^e, teaching how we ought to love
God, and our Neighbours, which are the two
Hinges whereon the whole Doctrin^e of the
Gospel turns; nevertheless, I have not thought
fit to spend the little Time that is allow^ded me
on that Subject, remitting it to some other
Occasion: What at present offers itself in
this City and Kingdom, and with which you
are

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are all acquainted, being more urgent. Neither do I reckon that in doing so, I transgress the Rule that ought to be observed by those that ascend the Pulpit, but do therein rather comply with what the Spirit of God hath taught us; directing us to apply our Doctrine to the Occurrences of the Times; after the Example of skilful Physicians, and prudent Stewards, who have recourse to the Distemper that is most dangerous, and the Affairs of the Family that are the most pressing: This St. Paul advised his Disciple Timothy to do; instructing him in the Method he was to use in his Preaching: Preach, saith he, the Word; but does not tell what Word: On purpose to teach, that in this Place, no other Words but those of God ought to be spoken, which only do deserve, by way of Eminency, to be called the Word; and which, as our Lord saith, giveth Spirit and Life. But the Apostle goes on; Preach the Word without being weary; and with great Instance and Vehemence, and observe the Opportunity and Occasion, and let not your Words be as the Words of an imprudent Man; which the Holy Spirit compares to Spoils strew'd and scatter'd in the Way, without Order or Consideration. This Doctrine the Apostle himself learnt from what Christ said to his Disciples, that he deserved to be called the faithful Steward, who paid
his

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his Lord's Servants what was owing to them, and he the prudent, who gave them their Meat in due time and Season: *And St. Chrysostom, speaking of this Place, saith, Two things our Lord assigned here as necessary, and which do so depend the one on the other, that if the one be wanting, the other is of no Advantage; Faithfulness in looking after the Rents, and Prudence in dispensing Provisions in their Season: And it is the Observation of St. Hierome, that when the Prophet Malachi saith, The Priest's Lips shall preserve Knowledge; that his Meaning was, That the Lips of the Priest is to preach Knowledge, and to publish Doctrine in its Season. We may therefore very well forbear to speak at this Time of the Man that was cured of the Dropsy, to treat of the present Novelty we see in this Kingdom; out of which his Majesty has commanded all the new Christians to depart, which is a thing of greater Consideration and Importance, than ever happened to our Ancestors, or than may ever be seen by our Posterity: Let us therefore beseech the Lord to assist us with his Grace, taking the most Blessed Virgin for our Intercessor, &c.*

To treat hereof, I have thought fit to consider the Words of the Apostle St. Paul, writ to the Galatians:

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I wish they were cut off that trouble you.

THE Holy *Apostle* had endeavoured to convert the *Gentile Greeks* of that City to the Faith of the *Gospel*, and a great many of them had given some Signs of their being converted; but who, through the bad Conversation of the *Gentiles* among whom they lived, had been disquieted, to the creating of great Disturbances in that City; the *Apostle*, in order to remedy those Mischiefs, writes to them; and the first Remedy he prescribed was, that for their Conservation, and for the Cessation of Disturbances, to beseech the Lord, that the Infidels that troubled them might be cut off.

The Word *Utinam*, has a great Emphasis, signifying a most anxious and fervent Desire; as if he had said, I wish I could see those that trouble you cut off and destroyed: O that God would be so gracious to me, as to let me see those that disturb and scandalise you, drove out from among you!

Now such an Affection and Desire, is what all in general ought to have, it being
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an Effect of that Zeal for the Honour and Glory of God, which is every one's Duty; being Part of the *Command of loving God*, which is the *first Commandment* of the *Holy Law*; Zeal being the Effect of that Love; so where there is no great Love for God, there is little Zeal for his Honour; and by how much the greater such a Love is, so much the greater is such a Zeal; and whereas God's Love, which is infinite, is much greater than any other Love, so for that Reason, God's Zeal is much greater than any other Zeal; insomuch that he is called, by way of Excellency, *The Zealot*, as we are told by one that knew much of God, and had spoke with him, as one Friend speaketh with another; and so as when ye hear the Almighty, the Infinite, the Saviour, the Glorifier named, you understand God; so when you hear the *Zealot*, you ought to understand it of God likewise. The divine *Apostle* discover'd his holy Zeal in saying, O that I might see those that trouble your Peace expelled from among you! A Wish worthy of an *Apostle* and Minister of God, and most acceptable to our Lord; and that it was so our Lord would have St. *John* know from his own Mouth; and by whom it is left written in the Book of his *Revelations*, for the Information of all future Ages; the Holy and beloved *Apostle* saith, *On the Lord's Day*; a Day famous for

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for having been consecrated by the triumphant Resurrection of our *Lord Jesus Christ*: As if we should say, our *Lord Christ* spoke to me on his own Day, on the Day whereon he received the due Reward of his Obedience; which was the *Lord's Day*: And he commanded me to tell the Bishop of the City of *Ephesus*, I know the Works that thou dost, and the Troubles thou undergoest in thy Ministry, and the Patience wherewith thou endurest them; and leaving the most important to the last, I know likewise thou canst not bear with them that are evil: And in the same Ecstasy and Rapture our Lord Christ commanded him likewise, to tell the Bishop of *Smyrna*, I know thy Tribulation, and how, though thou art rich before me, thou art poor in the Eyes of Men, and art spoken against, and outraged by those who say, they are faithful, but are rather of the Congregation of Satan. So from what we have said, we may gather how acceptable a thing it is to God, that we should be zealous for his Honour, and for abhorring Evil-doers, undergo Trouble and Persecution.

And this same Doctrine which Christ was pleased to declare to St. *John* by Word of Mouth, he himself preached in Fact to his Apostles, and all the Faithful; and that not only once, but twice, and upon the

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most solemn Occasions, and that on Purpose to make his Followers sensible of its great Importance; and that we, Pastors and Bishops, might learn with our Lord Christ, who is called by *St. Peter*, the *Pastor* and *Bishop*, and who, when he had Occasion, shewed himself zealous for the Honour of his eternal Father, complying therein with the Will of a *Zealot*.

The Apostles and Evangelists, *St. Matthew* and *St. John*, do give us an Account of a thing that hapned twice to our Lord Christ. *St. John* saith, it hapned once at the Beginning of his Preaching, after his having wrought his first Miracle in *Cana of Galilee*. And *St. Matthew* saith, it hapned a second Time, four Days before our Lord was crucified; so that our Lord did, both at the Beginning, and End of his Preaching teach us this Doctrine: Our Lord Christ, says the Evangelist, went into the Temple, and seeing that what was done there was contrary to God's Honour, the zealous God took the Cords, wherewith the Sheep and Oxen were bound, and having made a Whip of them, he went about shaking it at those Cattle, and Men, driving them all out of the Temple; and as to those that sold Pigeons, he commanded them to be gone with them; and going up to the Tables of the Money-changers, he

he threw them down upon the Ground, scattering about the Money that was upon them: Now let us consider this Fact, and we shall see, that besides its being the greatest Miracle that ever Christ wrought, for so St. *Hierom* saith it was, who affirms it to be greater than the Raising of *Lazarus* from the Dead; the repressing of so many, and in the Sight of so great a Concourse of People, after such a manner, none of them, offering to lay hold of him, or denying to obey him, notwithstanding they were at that time contriving his Death, being a thing, that nothing but the Almighty God could have done. But to pass over this, and come to that which Men and Angels do admire, that is, how it was possible for one of our Saviour's Mildness, Modesty, and Composure to do such a Work; to whip Men, to thrust them violently out of the Temple, to break Tables, and throw Money about, not appearing to be Actions suitable to the Benignity and Practice of our Lord Christ, of whom the Prophet *Isaiah* saith, that he should be patient, and gentle as a Lamb; and that when they should take his Cloaths from him, he would not open his Mouth, as was accomplished at his most Holy Passion; and who, when he was cursed, cursed not again, when he was tormented, did not complain, having

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resign'd up his Will to his Father Eternal, who judgeth justly; and yet this very mild Lamb, whose Patience and Silence under Injuries was so much admired by the perverse President, when there was an Occasion offered of remedying things that were offensive to God, turned fierce, and forgetting, as we may say, his Composedness, he changed the Mildness of a Sheep into the Fierceness and Boisterousness of a Lion. There is one Word spoke by St. *John*, that, in my Opinion, is worthy of our Consideration, it being a satisfactory Answer to all that has been said: That Disciple saith, he remembred that it was written, *the Zeal of thy Honour*, that is, *of thy House*, the Temple being the Place where God was honoured, *has eaten me up*, that is, has mashed and chewed me as a thing that is eaten, broken and chewed: From whence I gather, that the Disciples being astonished at this strange Action of their Master, and conferring together about what should be the Cause of his having done a thing so contrary to his Custom, what was said by the holy King *David* occurred to them, and what he had both done himself, and had prophesied of Christ, of whom he was a Type, saying one to another thereupon, this Zeal is like that of the mild and patient King *David*, who was a King of such Benignity

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nignity and Clemency, that he alledged his Benignity and Clemency to God, who judgeth the Thoughts according to the Truth, knowing the Heart, who finding himself persecuted, said, Lord remember *David* and all his Mildness; which was so great after he was anointed King, that being persecuted by *Saul*, to take away his Life, with that Eagerness wherewith a Fowler pursues a Partridge in the Mountains, when he had two Opportunities of having killed *Saul*, and was advised to it by his Companions, he would not do it, nor lay hands on him: But besides this, hear another Instance of his Mildness; when a Kinsman of *Saul's* met him, and cursed him bitterly, and cast Stones at him, as one cast off by God; *David* was so far from revenging this Affront, that he reprov'd one of his Company for offering to do it, saying, *let him curse me, since God would have him do it.* How clear a Proof is this of *David's* Mildness?

But you must now hear something of the Zeal that accompanied this Mildness, and the Fury wherewith he flew upon God's Enemies, who spoke Blasphemies, and committed Sacrilege in his House; the Zeal whereof, saith he, has confounded me; and the beholding the Offences that are committed has destroyed me; the Abhorrence I have for those that will not love

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God being so vehement, that it has cast me into an Hectick Fever, which consumes me; neither did he only in his Life-time revenge the Injuries that were done to God, but at his Death he charged his Son *Solomon* to revenge them; so that in *David* we see, a King that is mild and rigid, merciful and severe, a Pardoner, and a Revenger; and that was both patient and zealous.

And I do now ask the Question, whether Kings that are both benign and rigorous, ended with *David*? No, let us give Thanks to God, for having given us a King with those Qualities, and let us thank him a thousand times for such a singular Mercy: Who is able to express the Modesty, Mildness, and Benignity our Lord the King *Don Philip III.* brought into the World with him, and which continued with him in his Childhood, and continues now he is of perfect Age? It is known to every Body, and all that have ever been in his Royal Presence have felt it, and were astonished at it, and do publish it to all the World; and as this is the Mildness of *David*, so this great Mildness has been exercised, not only towards his own faithful Subjects, but towards Infidels and Traitors to his Royal Person and Crown: His Majesty from the Hour he began his happy Reign, having been
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extremely afflicted with the Offences which have been done to God in *Spain*, by the *Moriscoes* that live in it; who notwithstanding their having been baptised, do follow the Law of *Mahomet*; teaching it likewise to their Children, and observing all the Rites of the *Alcoran* publickly, and despising the Ceremonies of the Holy Church, and deriding the *Sacraments*, *Images*, and other sacred Things: All which Mischiefs his Majesty endeavour'd to have remedied with Mildness; and with so great Application, as if he had no other Business, procuring *Edicts of Grace* of his *Holiness*, and writing to the *Bishops* of this Kingdom concerning it; manifesting likewise how earnestly he desired the Reduction of those Infidels, by commanding Places to be erected for the Instruction of their Boys and Girls, and ordering a *Junto* of us to meet in this City, to find out some Ways, if it was possible, to cure those *Hereticks* of their Obstinacy and Obdurateness, which was lamented by him with such tender Expressions, as filled us all with Admiration and Confusion; having likewise, to facilitate this Conversion, made Offers of Rewards and Privileges to those that would turn: All which proclaims the Greatness of his Majesty's Clemency and Benignity, as it does also the Greatness of the *Moriscoes* Wicked-

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ness, who had shut the Door against the Truth of the *Gospel*, and against all the Means that could be made use of for their Conversion: These are the Demonstrations of *David's*, I mean, of our Lord the King's Clemency and Benignity.

Let us now cast our Eye on the Zeal for God's Honour, which his Majesty has joined with this his Benignity and Mildness; who having been inform'd by true and certain Advices, that amidst all these Endeavours used for the Conversion of those People, that they were plotting, and sending Embassies to the *Turk*, and other heretical Princes and Potentates, who were Enemies to God, and the Crown of *Spain*, to invite them to invade and conquer it, offering them an 150000 paid Soldiers, and divers other Conveniences; by which Promises made to encourage the Enterprize, the said Infidels were so far engaged, that they were preparing all Necessaries to invade us the next Spring; so that within six Months we should have had the *Turkish* Fleet, and that of our other Enemies upon our Coast, and must have seen *Spain* in a most forlorn and wretched Condition; for though through the Mercy of God, and the Ardour and Power of the King, we trust those Traitors would not have been able to have compass'd their Desires; nevertheless, taking us un-
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prepar'd, we should not have been able to have succour'd all the Parts of the Kingdom, and so must necessarily have sustain'd great Losses, in the Destruction of our holy Temples, and by Sacrileges committed against the most Holy Sacrament, and the Contempt that would have been put upon those Sanctuaries and Reliques, which are preserved in this Holy Temple, and in other Churches, as the most precious of all Treasures, and in the Murther and Martyrdom of all of us that are now alive; and of our Children and Brethren; and finally, in having the Name of *Mahomet* venerated in *Spain*, and that of our *Lord Jesus Christ* blasphemed.

All which Evils we should infallibly have incur'd by having these domestick Enemies among us, who do thirst to drink our Blood that they may make themselves Masters of *Spain*: For which Reason the Spirit of God did counsel us by the Mouth of the *Wise-man*, *not to have our Enemy near us*, nor to suffer him to sit by us; because he will undoubtedly endeavour to turn us out of our Seat, that he may take it to himself. You have now heard of, and do admire at the Mildness our Lord the King has used with these People, and at his Patience in winking at their Faults; let us now treat of his Majesty's holy Zeal and Resolution.

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His Majesty finding all the Remedies he had apply'd to the Conversion of these People unsuccessful, and that instead of profiting thereby, they were the more hardned in their Errors and Heresies, he resolv'd to use a Remedy; which besides its being the only Remedy that remained, is so admirable and divine, that human Prudence without a particular Light and Succour from Heaven could never have found it out, for the Example of the World, and the Admiration of all that do, or shall ever live therein: Methinks I hear the Lord our King using the same Words with the Royal *Prophet*, in the 117th *Psalme*, *The time is come, Lord, to do*; without telling what was to be done; to signify; that the Work was so admirable and amazing, that it would astonish the World, when they beheld it; and that that Work would comprehend a great many other Works within it; as if we should say, the Work of Works, the Enterprize of Enterprizes; for such is that which we have now in our Hands: who my Brethren is able to exaggerate it with Words, or is able to conceive the Christianity, the Prudence, the Magnanimity, the Grandeur, that are contained in this Work? For my own part, I find myself unable to express and dissect it; and so I shall give it over, and content myself with having said, that it is a Work worthy

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thy of such a King, and that such a King was worthy to be the Author of so catholick and wise a Resolution.

And whereas all his Majesty's faithful Subjects do desire that the Effects of the Prudence and holy Zeal wherewith God has inspired his Royal Soul may appear in his Government, as also the Effects of his Grandeur, and of the Power of his Royal Crown, so in this Work we see our Desires abundantly comply'd with; which does not only equal all that has ever been done by his famous Predecessors, but exceeds them all, so as to eclipse them: And that you may be sensible of the Truth of what I say, it is fit you should understand, that the Expulsion of the *Moors* out of this Kingdom, has been a thing that has been much desired and endeavoured, by our Lord the King's Predecessors, tho' never executed by them.

Let us begin with the first Conqueror, the famous King *Don James*, who being at *Catalagud* two and twenty Years after he had subdued the Kingdom of *Valentia*, was, as the History informs us, told by a Gentleman of his Court, *That there was News, that one of the chief Men among the Moors of Valentia had taken the Castles of Gallineva, Pego, and others*; at which, though the King discovered he was troubled, nevertheless he comforted himself, using the following Words,

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Words, *I am glad they have given us Occasion to drive them all out of the Kingdom, that where the filthy Name of Mahomet is invoked, the sweet Name of Jesus our Master, Redeemer, and true God may be praised and adored*: And accordingly, on the Day of the *Epiphany*, in the Year 1262, the Command of the King was published in this very Church, *That all the Moors should within a Month depart out of the Kingdom of Valentia*. This had no Effect by reason of the Wars that broke out with the King of *Castile*; nevertheless the said Christian and Valiant King continued still determined to banish them all; and did accordingly in his *Will*, which he made a little before his Death, charge his Son King *Don Pedro* to do it.

Don Ferdinand, who according to some *Writers*, was the first that was honoured by the Church of *Rome*, with the Title of *Catholic*, and which has been ever since retained by the Kings of *Spain*, did likewise, as *Historians* tell us, command them all to be banished; which is confirmed by what is related in the *Letters* writ by our Lord the Emperor *Charles* the Vth, to the Lords of the Vassals of this Kingdom, in the Year 1525; in which the following Words are to be met with; *After our happy Succession in these our Kingdoms and Dominions of Spain the Thing*

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we have laid most to Heart, was to cleanse them from Infidelity, imitating therein the Catholick King and Queen, my Grandfather and Grandmother of glorious Memory, who took so much Pains in that Matter: For which Reason we are determin'd, not to suffer any Moors to remain in any of our Kingdoms, otherwise than in Slavery: To which Determination his Majesty was pushed on by Pope Clement the VIIth; who by a Breve, Dated at St. Peter's at Rome, the 12th of May 1524, exhorted him to procure the Instruction of the Moors; and in case they refused to be instructed, to command them all, either to leave Spain, or to be made Slaves: The Result of which Diligence was the taking of that Expedient which was so prejudicial to all, as was the baptising of them; imagining, that so soon as they were in the Bosom of the Church, they would all have become Believers; but Experience has shewed, how they abused that Sacrament, with great Sacrilege and Blasphemy.

Our Lord the King, *Don Philip II.* after he succeeded in these Kingdoms, had the same Desire, and accordingly, in the Year 1568. he commanded the Prelates of this Kingdom to meet together to find out some Remedy, the most Reverend *Don Fernando de Loaze* being at that time Archbishop

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bishop of this Metropolis, in which Assembly there were several considerable Constitutions framed, which having been found to be of no Advantage, in the Year 1587. another Assembly was appointed, at which I was present, in which there were made several new Constitutions, after which, his Majesty being satisfied that all the Diligence he had used did signify nothing, and that they still persevered in their Heresy, he resolved either to have sent them all out of *Spain*, or at least, to have transplanted 'em into the inland Countries, which would have been attended with the same, if not greater Inconveniences.

Finally, the last Year we, the Prelates, were assembled again by his Majesty's Command, as you all know: now from what has been said, it is manifest that this Enterprize has been desired by a Pope, an Emperor, and four Kings, who were all hindered from executing it by the Greatness of the Work, under which they all sunk, and were worsted by it; they were sensible of the Necessity there was of clearing *Spain* of them, acknowledging the evident Danger it was in, whilst those domestick Enemies remained in it; but the *Moles* and Greatness of the Enterprize did so far conquer their Courage, that they were overcome by the Multitude of Inconveniences which were

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represented to them, as the Consequences thereof. Which mighty Enterprize, I do really believe was reserved by Divine Providence, on purpose to give undeniable Testimony of the paternal Succour wherewith it attends the Actions and Person of our Lord the King; that that which a valiant Conqueror, a Catholick King, an Emperor, so much celebrated in the World for the many Victories he gained over the *Turks* and *Hereticks*, and Catholicks too, that were his Enemies; and a King whose Prudence was so well known and admired tho' they desired it, durst not undertake it, is now executed by our Lord the King, with so great Zeal for the Glory and Honour of our Lord God, with such admirable Courage and Prudence, that we now see it begun, and shall, by the Favour of God, see it quickly concluded and ended; and the Kingdom of *Valentia* recovered, not in many Years, as it was recovered by the *Christian Kings*, but in a few Months more: Does it not appear to you that I had reason to say, that this is the greatest Action that we have seen in our own, or have read of in past Times? After this, how great Ingratitude would it be in us of this Kingdom, not to acknowledge, with particular Thanks, the Mercy which God and his Majesty has done us, in beginning this noble Enter-

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prize here? Ought we not to return Thanks to God for his having chose this, among the infinite Kingdoms, first to receive Safety; and his Majesty, for having been pleased to order us to be an Example to all his other Kingdoms, so as not to gain only the Expulsion of the *Moriscoes*, who were Natives among us, but also the Expulsion of the *Moriscoes* of other Parts; and that it will be recorded in the History of *Valentia*, that it was the first, which for its holy Zeal deserved to have their Kingdom freed from Hereticks, and which by a signal Demonstration has given a Testimony of its innate Fidelity, in having obeyed with great Chearfulness, what its King and Lord has ordained and commanded? In all which the Duke of *Lerma* has bore a great Part, out of the singular Love wherewith his Excellency attends to the Affairs of this Kingdom, and of all that live therein.

Brethren, I am not able to expresse how great a Comfort it is to me, to see and hear how this has been entertained by all in general, and particularly by all those that are interested therein, who, notwithstanding they must, as we all know, sustain great Damage thereby, have nevertheless, both by Word and Deed, yielded great Conformity to it, saying, that since this Expulsion will be so much for the Service of God, and
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his Majesty, they did not only reckon their Goods to be well lost, but did further offer their own and their Sons Lives therein; a Resolution worthy of most true Christians, and of most faithful Subjects: Methinks I have seen that which the Apostle St. *Paul*, writing to the *Hebrews*, prized so much, *Ye have taken*, saith he, *cheerfully the spoiling of your Goods*; he commends them for two Things, and which do both deserve great Praise: the first is the suffering the Loss of their Goods, which is a great Work, but it is yet greater to take it with Cheerfulness, which is not only good, but an heroical Work, and the Work of an Apostle; to see ones self rich to Day and poor to Morrow, and to take that with Patience and Cheerfulness for the Service of God and the King is a mighty Work, and which deserves to be acknowledged and rewarded; we need not weary our selves to prove this, that Example the Holy Spirit has given us, and which is related by three Evangelists, St. *Matthew*, St. *Mark* and St. *Luke*, will do it abundantly: St. *Peter*, with the Freedom of a *Privado* and *Favourite*, and as superior to the rest of the Apostles, said unto our Lord Christ, *Master behold we have left all that we had, and followed thee*, how will you pay us for what we have done for you? The Lord

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answer'd those that had followed him, and said, that he would do them great Honour, that they should sit with him to judge Men: and not forgetting others who had, or should at any time leave their Goods for his sake, he saith to all such, *they that have left House &c.* All the three Evangelists do put *House* in the first place, and the *Greek* word here, as also the *Hebrew* in *Psal.* 123. signifies not only a material House, but a Family likewise, and all things belonging to its Support; as Health, Honour, and Goods, and all things else; so that to leave the Support of a Family is an heroical Work, and which deserves a great Reward: This the Nobility of *Valentia* has done, some losing Vassals, and the Advantages they had by them, others losing their Rents, and all this with Chearfulness, as through the Mercy of God we see; and for which I do return infinite Thanks, and do hold my self unworthy to have such Sheep; and whereas they have done this their part, they shall also partake of the Promise which our Lord Christ made to those that have left their Goods for the sake of the Gospel, as *St. Matthew* has it, or, who have left their Goods for the Kingdom of Heaven, as *St. Luke* hath it: None of them shall fail to receive *in this Life* much more than they have lost, *and in the Time to come Life eternal.*

This is what Christ our Lord has promised, who cannot be worse than his Word, being not only true, *but Truth itself*; so that we may rest secure of having this Promise fully comply'd with; and that the Benefits will be innumerable, which will follow upon this holy and admirable Work, such as Honour, the greatest Honour, that is, being to live in the Company of Believers, and the greatest Dishonour and Disgrace, is, to have any thing to do with Infidels, who, let them be of what Quality soever, tho' a King, cannot be so much as looked upon, without being affronted. So the Prophet *Elijah* told *foram* a wicked King of *Israel*, *As the Lord liveth, in whose Presence I am, that had it not been out of respect to King Jehoshaphat who is a Believer, and the Servant of God, I should not have regarded what you say, nor have seen thy Face, because thou art an Infidel.* Neither would the Prophet so much as salute him, because it would have been a Fault to have done it, as it is to us to salute the Enemies of God, who are of the Number of those that do not confess our Lord Christ to be true God, which *Mahomet* did not, and of whom the holy Apostle *St. John* saith, *Receive them not into your House, and say not God speed to them; for they that salute them do in some manner partake of their Fault.* What greater Honour can we have in

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this Kingdom, than to have all that live therein faithful to God and the King, and without any Mixture of Hereticks or Traitors? And of this Honour the temporal Lords will chiefly partake, who hereafter may be stiled the Lords of faithful Vassals, which they could not be stiled before, but the Lords of infidel Slaves. And as to the common People, what greater Good can they receive, or what that can be compared to their having the most holy Sacrament reserved in the Church of every Village; what Honour, what Authority, what Comfort, what Ease, what Joy must this yield? This is that which makes Villages, tho' never so small, to be most illustrious Cities, and Royal Courts, not of the Kings of the Earth, but of the King of Heaven; this is the only thing that can be esteemed Grandeur. And so the Royal Prophet *David*, desiring to extol the Eminency and Majesty of *Jerusalem* for its having in it the House of God, which was but the Shadow and Type of our Temples, saith, *Many admirable and glorious things we are able to say of thee, the City of God.* The same and greater beyond Comparison can we say of every little Hamlet, where not the Ark of the Testament, and the Urn of *Manna*, but the true and living Body of our Lord abideth.

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Ye are all Witneses of the Incommodity it was to pious People, to go to their Villages where this great Consolation was wanting which hereafter ye shall enjoy, and be possessed of the greatest Treasure in Heaven, which is the Presence of our Lord Jesus Christ: And ye shall see your Churches which were full of Dragons and wild Beasts, filled with Angels and Seraphims. When this Expulsion is over, I do intend, if God spare me Life, to visit all the Places where the *Moors* lived, and having kissed the Ground of the Churches, to return Thanks to our Lord, for seeing them freed from so great Impurity, as they were defiled with by their treading in them: In Conformity whereof I beseech all of you, that have Villages which have been inhabited by *Moriscoes*, or in which they have had any Houses, to make a great Festivity, the greatest you can possibly make on the Day whereon the most holy Sacrament shall be lodged in your Churches, and to take care to adorn the holy Altar where it is to be reserved, as much as you can possibly: This Care will be very proper for the Ladies and other pious Women, remembring the *Regale* which the two Sisters *Martha* and *Mary* made to our Lord Christ, when he came to 'em weary with having preached, and quite tired with the Infidelity of Men. It is the

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very same Lord you will now have in your Churches, and that not mortal and passible, but immortal and impassible: Regale him therefore as much as you are able, and be ye tenderly affected with the Sense of the great Mercy he does you in condescending to dwell among you, after so many and so great Blasphemies and Affronts as have been offered to him in those very Places where you now have him; with this consideration you will kindle in your Hearts a Devotion for the most holy Sacrament, and thereby acquire innumerable Benefits.

I will tell you one thing farther, that some who are much the Servants of our Lord, and are learned too, are of Opinion, that the Reason why our Lord has ordained that this holy Expulsion should begin in this Kingdom, was, that he might reward the Devotion that is in it for the most holy Sacrament, which is greater here than it is in any other part of *Spain*, as is manifest from the Festivities, Processions, Illuminations, and Ceremonies which they perform on its admirable Feast; honouring it as much as human Poverty and Weakness is able to honour the eternal Son of God, who continues among us, for the remedying of all our Evils spiritual and corporal. Neither is it a thing of small Consideration, that hereafter we shall all be quiet in our Con-

sciences,

sciences. But I do not care to insist on a Point, on which I have formerly said and writ a great deal, and could say and write much more on it. For if the holy Scriptures dictated by the Divine Spirit do command us to abhor the Enemies of God, and if the Royal Prophet said, *That it threw him into a Fever, when he saw those that had transgressed the Divine Law*; how shall we be able to answer for our having treated those Hereticks familiarly, esteeming them as Friends, and being in Amity with them, notwithstanding we beheld them performing the Ceremonies of *Mahomet*, and we ourselves did acknowledge them to be *Mahometans*, tho' they had been baptized? Who among us has had the Zeal of *Matthias*, of whom the holy Scripture saith, *That when he beheld one of the People of Israel offering Sacrifice to Idols at the Commandment of the perverse King Antiochus, he was so set on fire by the Zeal of the Lord, that his Bones trembled, and flying up on him that sacrificed, and him that commanded him to do it, he killed them both*: This is the Zeal of a Servant of God, and which is so acceptable to the Divine Majesty, that *Phineas* for the doing the same was commended of God; and *Moses* saith, that tho' he was determined to have inflicted a severe Punishment upon the People, he was appeased and did remit his Wrath, *for the Zeal of*
N 4 *Phineas*

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Phineas who killed the Transgressor of the Law of God. My Brethren, we had all need make a general Confession; and I my self ought to do it in the first Place, who knowing the Blasphemies of those People, and seeing it with my Eyes, have lived forty Years in Peace with them. And notwithstanding I might plead the Example of other learned Prelates, and who were much the Servants of our Lord, who have dissembled and gone on with them; nevertheless had I been worthy of the Zeal of our Lord, such Examples would not have sufficed. A general Confession of the Barons, and Lords of Vassals, is likewise necessary, who, tho' when I treated with them about their Obstinacy and their observing their Sect openly, used to tell me, that it did not belong to them, but to the Inquisition or the Ordinary to punish them for it. Nevertheless it is certain, that if they had had Zeal for the Honour of God they would never have permitted it. A general Confession is also necessary to all that have trafficked and have had any Dealings with 'em, for had you had a Zeal for the Honour of God, and had esteem'd it more than your Profit, you would never have been their Friends, but would have abhorr'd 'em, and fled from 'em. And I beseech all of you that know any thing of the Language of those cursed Creatures to forget it.

I have

of the Moriscoes out of Spain. 195

I have deferred to speak to what concerns Goods to the last, of which I know some have complain'd, but with the fore-mentioned Moderation. It cannot be deny'd but that at first, until Things are well settled, the Rents of the Lords of Vassals will be less than they were; neither will the Rents that were changed on the Villages of the *Moriscoes* amount to so much as they did: But how inconsiderable are these Losses, which, when compared to the Benefits that will result from hence, cannot properly be called a Damage? So they who have sold Copy-holds, or Leases to buy a Manor, though their Rents may be lessened thereby, are not said by us to have done any Prejudice to their Estates, but rather to have improved them; as they likewise do, who do abate of their Pensions to have them charged on Estates, where they will be more secure; this very thing has now happened; seeing both the Quality of Estates, and the Security of recovering the Rents of them, are to be reckon'd beyond a greater Rent with a Risque of losing it. And whosoever will but truly consider the imminent Danger we were in of losing both our Estates and Lives, while those People lived among us, will reckon himself happy, and to be in a better Condition, by having what remains secured to him. For as wise

Solomon

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Solomon has it, Better is a little with the Fear of the Lord, than to have great Treasures with Strife and Fighting.

Among the Felicities of the Sons of Israel, reckon'd by the Spirit of God, in the Reign of King Solomon, one was, *That Men lived in Safety, sleeping under the Shade of their own Vine and Figtree, having none to be afraid of.* Thus we shall be in this Kingdom for the future, where through the Mercy of God, and the paternal Care of his Majesty, every thing will thrive with us; and the Earth it self will grow more fertile, and will yield the Fruit of Blessing. It is a thing ye all know, that we have not had one fertile Year since the Time that the *Moriscoes* were baptized, whereas now they will be all fertile, the Land having been impoverish'd, made barren, and poisoned by their Blasphemies and Heresies, or with so many *Sins* and *Abominations*, as the Royal *Prophet David* hath it; don't think that this is nothing but a Fancy, since the divine Scriptures do every where affirm, that for Sins, God deprives People of temporal Blessings. Let us but live in the Service of our Lord, and observe his Holy Law without wronging our Neighbour, and we shall abound with all good Things. Hear what the Lord himself has said, *Obey my Commandments, and keep my Law, and I do promise,*

of the Moriscoes out of Spain. 197

promise, you shall live in the Land without Fear; and the Land which you possess shall bring forth Fruit in such Abundance, that you shall eat and be full, and that without any Fear, but with an entire Rest and Security; and your Harvests shall be so great, that the Reapers shall work until Seed Time, and the Makers of Wine shall meet the Sowers; and ye shall build in Places which were Deserts, and plant Vines, and drink of the Wine thereof, and sow Gardens, and eat of the Fruit of the Trees you have planted; and ye shall never be turned out of your Houses, saith the Lord. All this the Lord has promised by his *Prophets*; I say again, we shall abound with all good Things; for he who bestows upon us the heavenly and eternal Blessings of Grace, will not, saith the Royal Prophet, deny us temporal and earthly Blessings; for which Reason the Man may be called happy, *who trusteth in the Lord.* Let us do so, and be contented with what our *Lord* shall be pleased to dispense to us, giving him infinite Thanks for this Mercy.

And I with my Weakness and Misery do supplicate him to give me Light, that I may know how to do it, who, tho' a great Sinner, I will venture to use the Words spoke by a holy Man, to whom I am like in being old, *O Lord, now let thy Servant depart*
in

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in Peace according to thy Word; for now ha-
ving seen my Desires comply'd with, I am
contented to die, whenever our Lord shall
be pleased to take me, leaving my Churches
free from the Impurities wherewith those
Hereticks defiled them, and my Flock se-
cure from the Treasons they were machi-
nating; but above all, now that our Lord
God will be adored and served, and praised
for ever.

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THE

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
WARS
OF THE
COMMONS
OF
CASTILE,

In the Beginning of the Reign of
Charles the Vth.

Compiled chiefly out of Letters written by
Eminent Persons that were engaged in
these Wars.

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COMMONS
OF
ENGLAND
IN
PARLIAMENT
ASSEMBLED
IN
THE
SEVENTH
YEAR
OF
HIS
MAYESTY
KING
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THE
THIRD
IN
THE
FIRST
SESSION
OF
THE
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THE PREFACE.

THE Wars of the Commons of Castile, which broke out in the Beginning of the Reign of the Emperor Charles the Vth, tho' they are mentioned in all the Histories of those Times, little more is said of them, than that they begun in such a Year; and that the Commons being at last dispersed, and some of their Leaders being put to Death, all things were quieted again.

The Shortness of which Account, considering how great a Revolution this was, and how full of useful Lessons both for Princes and Subjects, I can attribute to nothing, but to the known Partiality of the Spanish Historians for the Honour of their Country; on whose so much boasted of Loyalty to their Princes, these Wars of the Commons were thought to reflect too much, to be transmitted at large by them to Posterity.

When I have said that this History is chiefly taken out of Letters writ to Ministers of State by Persons of great Note, and who were personally engaged in these Wars, I think I have said enough to recommend it to the Curious; who cannot but know, that
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THE PREFACE.

the Materials of true History are no where else to be met with so well, (and especially in the Case of civil Wars; in which, as both Sides are commonly something in the wrong, so for that Reason, the wisest and best Men on both Sides are always the farthest from a blind Bigotry for the whole of their several Causes; and which Moderation never discovers it self any where so plainly) as in Letters writ to publick Ministers by their Confidants: For tho' publick Ministers may, in such Cases, industriously impose false Relations on others, they themselves must not be abused by such Relations.

This is the Case of most of the Letters, out of which the main of this History was collected; they are written to the Lord Chancellor of Castile, who was at that time in Germany with the Emperor, by his great Friend and Confident, the learned Peter Martyr, an Eye Witness of these Wars; and who, tho' he was very active in them for the Emperor, does every where condemn the evil Counsellors by whom the Commons were provoked to take up Arms; much more than he does the Commons, for having taken them up, after having been so highly provok'd to it.

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
WARS
OF THE

Commons of Castile,

In the Beginning of the Reign of
Charles the Vth.

DONNA *Isabella*, the Sovereign
Queen of *Castile*, &c. and Wife
of *Ferdinand* King of *Aragon*,
having departed this Life on the
26th of *November*, in the Year 1504; by
her Death the Crown of *Castile*, and
of all the Dominions thereunto belonging,
Vol. I. O descended

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descended to *Donna Johanna* her eldest Daughter then living, and who was married to *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, eldest Son of *Maximilian* the Emperor, and Arch Duke of *Austria*; and who, at that time, was in *Flanders* with her Husband, and her eldest Son *Charles*.

The deceased Queen having been sensible of her Daughter *Donna Johanna's* Weakness, and much displeased with her Son-in-Law *Philip*, for having been a very unkind Husband; by her Will, made not long before her Death, she constituted her own Husband, King *Ferdinand*, Governor of *Castile*, during the Time of their Grandson Prince *Charles's* Minority.

But *Philip*, who was a brisk Prince, coming not long after with his Queen into *Spain*, did, with the Assistance of the *Castilian* Nobles, who were extremely weary of *Ferdinand's* severe Government, oblige his Father-in-Law to leave *Castile*, and go to his own Kingdoms: *Philip* among other things being much dissatisfied with his Father-in-Law, for having, after he was above sixty Years of Age, concluded a Marriage with a young beautiful *French* Princess, whose Name was *Germana*, in hopes of having Male-Issue by her, to succeed him in the Throne of *Aragon*.

But *Philip*, who had lived apace, dying a few Months after *Ferdinand* had left *Castile*; his Queen, whose Brain was somewhat distemper'd before, did, upon this Loss, sink into so deep a Melancholy, that those who were about her had much ado to keep her from famishing her self: And, as during the whole Time of her Husband's Sickness, she had never, tho' she was big with Child, Day nor Night, stirred from his Bed-side; so having, some Days after he was buried, been told by a Monk, that he had read in some Legend or other, of a King who came to Life again after he had been dead fourteen Years, she immediately commanded her Husband's Body to be brought into her Bed-chamber, where, having taken it out of the Coffin, and laid it in a Bed of State, with its Face uncover'd, she kept it there as long as she lived, which was above twice fourteen Years; and when she was awake, was continually looking upon it, and watching when it would rise.

And as the Queen's Fondness for her Husband, who had little deserv'd it from her; so her Jealousie of him was so much increas'd by his Death, that she would never suffer any Woman but her self to go near his Corps; nor none of that Sex, besides her old Servants and Confidants, to come within the Doors of the Room where it lay:

And having left *Burgos*, with a Resolution never to see that, nor any other City any more, she travelled in the Night by Torch-light, with her Husband's Corps drawn in a Herse by six *Flanders-Mares*, from one obscure Village to another, until she settled at last at *Tortelas*; where, in a very mean House, she was deliver'd of a Daughter, without the help of a Midwife: For as there was no persuading of her to lie in, in any other Room but in that where her Husband's Corps was; so she would not hear of a Midwife, though never so ancient, being brought into it.

The Breath was not well out of *Philip's* Body, when the *Grandees* were all to Pieces, about the Administration of the Government, during Prince *Charles's* Minority: The Nobles who had appear'd most forward in driving *Ferdinand* out of *Castile*, talked high against his being recalled to be their Governor, alledging, that if his Government was grievous to his Nobles before, it would be much more so now, after he had been so highly provoked, by their having joined with *Philip* against him; His being married to the Princess *Germana*, in Hope of having Male-Issue by her, was likewise urged as an unkind thing to the Posterity of their Queen *Isabella*; and which, if he were its Governor, might prove of dangerous Consequence to *Castile*.

The Queen, who when she would speak, which was but seldom, did always give very pertinent Answers; being address'd to, to know to whom she would have the Administration of the Government of her Kingdoms committed, is said to have answer'd, *My first born Son and Heir Charles is too young to administer the Government himself, and Maximilian my Father-in-law cannot well leave the Empire, and his own Hereditary Dominions; or if he would, he is altogether a Stranger to the Tempers and Customs of my People, which are all perfectly understood by my Father, and who has with great Toil and Danger much enlarged my Territories:* But when she was desired, after so wise an extemporary Answer, by a publick Instrument to constitute her Father Governor of *Castile*, during her Son's Minority, not a Word more was to be had from her; neither would she to her dying Day ever be persuaded to put her Hand to any Writing, or to give any Reason why she would not do it; only on other Occasions she would sometimes say, *That it was scandalous for the Widow of a good Husband, to let any thing trouble her Thoughts, but the Memory of her great Loss.*

Cardinal *Ximenes*, Archbishop of *Toledo*, the wisest and most disinterested Statesman that *Spain*, or perhaps any other Kingdom,

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ever had, at first seem'd to agree with the Nobles, to exclude *Ferdinand* from the Regency, to which his near Relation to the Prince gave him so good a Title; but being sensible that no Man was so fit as *Ferdinand* to govern *Spain* at that time, he so managed the Council of State, that he prevailed with them to send to *Ferdinand*, who was then at *Naples*, to desire him to come and take upon him the Administration of the Government, during the time of his Daughter's Indisposition, and of his Grandson's Minority: And though the Queen would not be persuaded to give any Countenance to his coming, by writing a Line to invite him; yet having been desir'd by his Ambassador at her Court, to order publick Prayers and Supplications to be made in all the Churches, for his safe Arrival in *Castile*, she made Answer, *It should be done*; and added, *that she doubted not but that God would both give her Father a prosperous Voyage, and would bless him in the Administration of the Government of her Kingdoms.*

Ferdinand being arriv'd in *Castile*, went directly to visit his disconsolate Daughter; and though the Place he found her in was extremely incommodious, both for her self, and the Court, he had much ado to persuade her to leave it, to go to *Santa Maria*

de Campo, from whence he intended to have moved her to *Burgos*, and to have fix'd her there, so soon as the Castle of that City (which was held out against him by one *Emanuel*, the great Favourite of King *Philip*) was reduced: But the Queen, when she came to *Arcos*, suspecting that her Father intended to carry her to *Burgos*, she would not go a Step further; telling him, *That she was resolved never to see the Place any more, wherein she had been so unhappy as to lose the best of Husbands*: And though *Arcos* was a Town of bad Air, and very inconvenient for the Court, it was five Months before he could persuade her to leave it, to go to *Tordesillas*, a pleasant Village, and wherein she had a Palace in the Neighbourhood of *Valledolid*; but having at last prevailed with her to remove, she travelled all the way by Night with her Horse, stopping still at the first House she met with, though it was a Cottage, after the Day began to dawn, and remained there till it was dark Night; and when she was desired by her Father who accompanied her, not to feed her Melancholy by travelling after such a dismal Manner; all the Answer he could have, was, *That the Sun ought never to see a Woman after she was so unfortunate as to be a Widow.*

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It was happy for *Spain*, that it had *Ferdinand* for its Governor at this Time; for besides that, during his nine Years Regency of *Castile*, he kept it in perfect Peace at Home; in that Time he obtained for it, of the *Pope*, the Investiture of the Kingdom of *Navar*; through which considerable Accession, and the immense Treasures of Gold, Plate, and Jewels, which were yearly imported from the *Indies*, *Spain* was never in so rich and flourishing a Condition, as it was in at the time of *Ferdinand's* Death; who died at *Madragall* on the 23^d of *January*, 1516: and by his Death, he having had no Children by his young Queen *Germana*, the Crown of *Aragon* descended to his Daughter, the Queen of *Castile*. *Spain*, after *Ferdinand's* Death, was wisely governed by Cardinal *Ximenes*, until Prince *Charles*, who was just then of Age, arrived; which was not till 18 Months after his Grandfather's Decease. This Delay was looked on by the *Spaniards* as a Trick of the *Flemings* to draw Money out of *Castile*; but whether that was so or not, it is certain that *Flanders* has been ever since drawing such Sums of Money from thence, that it had been happy for *Spain* never to have had any thing to do with it.

Never was any Prince more welcome to a People, than *Charles* was to the *Spaniards* when

when he first came among them; the great Character had been given of him by all that came from *Flanders*, having made the *Spaniards* expect him with great Impatience, who promis'd themselves all manner of Happiness under the Government of so hopeful a Prince: but *Charles* had not been a Year among them, before he had lost their Hearts to a Degree none of his Ancestors had ever done before, through his being absolutely govern'd by his *Flemish* and *French* Ministers; and above all, by the *French* Lord, *Philip Crovi de Chevers*, who had been his Governor, and who, though otherwise a very great Man, was insatiably covetous.

The first thing *Charles* did after he landed, was the discharging of his Brother *Ferdinand's* Governor, and Præceptor, and all his other *Spanish* Servants, and placing *French* and *Flemings* in their Room; which Change, as it was heinously taken by the *Infante* himself, so it was highly resented by the *Spaniards* to whom *Ferdinand*, who had been bred among them, was very dear, as an Affront put upon their Nation: This Order was executed by Cardinal *Ximenes* a few Days before he died; by whose Death the Archbishoprick of *Toledo*, which next to the Papacy, is the richest Dignity in the *Roman* Church, being commonly

monly reckoned to be worth fourscore thousand *English* Pounds per Year, having become vacant, it was begg'd by *Chevers*, who obtain'd a Promise of it from the Prince, for his Nephew *William de Croy*, who, tho' he was then Bishop of *Cambray*, was but a very young Man; by which strange Promotion, and made so soon after the Prince came among them, the *Spaniards* plainly perceived, how great both the Power and Impudence of the northern Ministers were, in having dared, so soon, to lay their Hands on the highest and richest Dignity of the Kingdom.

The Prince, and his Sister *Donna Leonora*, whom he had brought with him from *Flanders*, made no Stay any where until they came to *Tordesillas*, where their Mother was, and where she had been above ten Years, without having once stirred out of the Room where her Husband's Corps lay: She is said to have receiv'd her Son and Daughter with great Tenderness, and to have entertained them with some Discourse: Whilst the Prince was with his Mother at *Tordesillas*, his natural Uncle, the Archbishop of *Saragossa*, and who, had the Archbishoprick of *Toledo* became vacant during the Time of his Father *Ferdinand's* Government, was to have had it, came to wait upon him, to congratulate his safe Arrival

Arrival in Spain: But the Prince suspecting that his Business was to beg the Archbishoprick of *Toledo*, he commanded him, without having seen him, to leave *Tordesillas*, and to go to *Valledolid*, and to wait there for him; fearing, it is like, that if he had remained any time at *Tordesillas*, he might have found some Opportunity to have spoke with the Queen, and to have begg'd it of her; the Archbishop, who was a Man of a great Spirit, so resented this unkind Entertainment, that having left *Tordesillas* in a Rage, he went directly to *Aragon*, of which Kingdom he had been Viceroy some Years before, and ever since his Father's Death.

A *Cortes* or *Parliament* having met at *Valledolid*, on the 5th of *February* 1518, the first thing proposed to it was, whether considering the Queen's Indisposition, the Administration of the Government shou'd not be committed to her eldest Son, Prince *Charles*; but tho' this was presently and unanimously agreed to, the second thing proposed, which was, whether during his Mother's Life, he should have the Title of King, or only that of Prince Regent, bore a long Debate; however, it was concluded at last, that he should presently have the Title of King, but so that all publick Acts should run in both their Names; the usual
Oaths

Oaths of governing, according to Law, and of not infringing or violating any of the Liberties or Privileges of the Subjects, having been taken by the King, the *Cortes* was moved to give Money to defray the Charges of the Government, which were represented to be very great at that Time: But the Commons, before they would part with any Money, insisted on having two old Laws revived; the one was, *That none but Natives of Castile should be capable of any Office or Benefice in it, either in Church or State*; and the Second was, *That it should be Death to send Money out of the Kingdom*; but the Northern Ministers, at whom these two Provisions were levelled, by the Assistance of the Bishop of *Badajoz*, who had been the King's *Spanish* Præceptor in *Flanders*, and of *Garcia Padilla*, Commendator of *Calatrava*, so managed the *Cortes*, as to prevail with the Majority, both to drop those Provisions, and to grant the Sum that had been demanded, and which is said to have been the greatest that was ever given by any *Cortes*: And though this great Donative, for so all the Money that is given by a *Cortes* is called by the *Castilians*, was not to have been paid in less than three Years, it was, with the Deduction of an high Interest, advanced immediately by the *Italian* Bankers

Bankers of *Valledolid*, and, as was universally reported, was, as soon as it was received, distributed by the King among his Northern Ministers, and by them sent into *Flanders* in Specie. Several of the great Cities, but above all, that of *Toledo*, being very angry with the *Cortes*, for having given the King so great a Sum of Money before he had consented to the reviving of the two forementioned Laws, did, as soon as the *Cortes* was dissolved, send Commissioners to Court, to remonstrate against Strangers being preferred, and suffered to send Money out of the Kingdom; offering to prove, that in less than a Year eleven hundred thousand Ducats had been sent by the Northern Ministers out of *Castile* into *Flanders*; but the young King having been possess'd by those Ministers, that the *Spaniards* were a People not to be governed, but with a Rod of Iron, he turned a deaf Ear to all such Remonstrances, dismissing the City Commissioners with Threats, as Persons disaffected to his Government.

Emanuel King of *Portugal* having at this time, by his Ambassador, desired *Donna Leonora*, the King's Sister, for his Wife, this Proposition was had in Detestation by all the *Castilians*; for besides that *Emanuel* had been married to two of her Aunts, and had Children by them both, he was old enough

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to be her Grandfather: But notwithstanding all the World cried Shame at sacrificing so young and beautiful a Princess to *Chevers's* Covetousness, who was known to have received one and twenty thousand Ducats, by Order of the *Portugal* Ambassador, from a Banker of *Valledolid*, the Match was concluded, and the *Infante* sent to *Portugal*, attended by *Chevers's* Lady, who had been her Governess, and who was said to have received a great Reward there, for having persuaded that Princess to so unequal a Match.

Chevers's observing the Discontents of the *Castilians* against the Government to run very high, persuaded the King to send his Brother *Ferdinand* to *Flanders*, and to appoint Mr. *Buere*, a *Flemish* Nobleman, to attend him, in Quality of his Governor: The thing that helped *Buere* to this remote Employment was, his having called *Chevers* a *Traytor to his Face*, for having ever since he came into Spain, sacrificed all the King's Interests to his own and his Lady's insatiable Avarice.

The King having thus disposed of his Brother, and eldest Sister, he had his Posthumous Sister, *Donna Catherina*, stole from her Mother, with whom, ever since she was born, she had been mewed up in a dark Room; but the Queen, when she came to

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miss her Daughter, was so discomposed, that she vowed never to eat or drink till her Child was restor'd to her again; which at the end of two Days the King was forc'd to do, his Mother having, during that time, neither eat, drunk, or slept.

The Cardinal's Hat the King had obtained of the Pope for *Adrian* a Dutchman, who had been his Præceptor, and to whom *Tortosa*, one of the richest Bishopricks in Spain had been given, having been brought to *Valledolid*; the King and the whole Court were present at the Solemnity of *Adrian's* receiving it: And though *Adrian* was, and deservedly, the best beloved by the Spaniards of all the Northern Ministers, yet the Clergy, reckoning that this Hat was, at Rome, plac'd to the Spanish Account, they were extremely incens'd to see all their highest Ecclesiastical Dignities thus conferr'd on Strangers; for such they reckoned the *Flemings* to be, though the King's natural born Subjects.

It was not long before the Clergy let the King know how much they resented his having bestow'd the richest and highest Ecclesiastical Dignities on Foreigners; who having been assembled presently after by the Cardinal *Adrian*, to settle the Payment of the *Tenths* of all the Ecclesiastical Benefices and

and Promotions in *Castile*, which had been given to the King by the *Pope*: The Clergy by their Prolocutor told the Cardinal plainly, That as they were not oblig'd to pay those Tenth's, but when *Spain* was actually invaded by *Infidels*; so since that could not be pretended now, they were resolv'd not to pay them: Neither did they, tho' much urged to it by the Cardinal, and by several great Lawyers sent to them by the King, who endeavoured to satisfy them of their being bound to pay those Tenth's, having been granted to the King by the *Pope*, who was Lord of all Ecclesiastical Benefices, and to carry on a War against the *Turks*, who were by Sea, as well as by Land, growing formidable to all *Christendom*.

The King being settled in the Throne of *Castile*, went next to *Saragossa*, the Metropolis of *Aragon*; where having assembled a *Cortes*, that Assembly was, according to Custom, opened by a Speech made to them, by an Officer call'd, *The Pronotary of the Kingdom*: Wherein he desired the *Cortes*, to take into their Consideration the State of the Kingdom, and how the Government was to be administred, now their Queen was so much indisposed. The discontented Archbishop of *Saragossa* made answer, That as the *Aragoneses* had always been faithful to their Princes, so they would now take time to consider of what
was

was fit to be done by them in their present Circumstances : But though he did all that he was able, to have obstructed the King's Business, the Government was settled in the same manner as it was in *Castile*, and the King took the usual Oath of maintaining to the *Aragonese* all their Liberties and Immunities, which at this time were the greatest that were enjoyed by any People under a Monarchy. After this, the *Cortes* being moved to supply the King with Money, and to do it with Expedition ; they made answer, *That it was not their Custom to give Money before the Grievances of the Kingdom were all redressed ; and the Debts owing from the Crown to the Subjects stated in order to be paid.* Upon which two Heads the *Cortes* spent so much Time, that the King having received Advice of the Death of his Grandfather *Maximilian*, he sent a Message to them, to let them know, That if they did not quickly dispatch the Affairs they had in hand, he shou'd be forc'd to leave them undone, being in great haste to go to *Germany*, to secure the Imperial Crown to himself, and to his Family, in which it had been so long ; and that the more, because the *French* King pretended to it ; and who, if he should gain it, would be a much more dangerous Neighbour to *Spain* than before. Upon which Message, though the Donative,

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which had been demanded was granted, so much of it was appropriated to the Payment of Crown Debts, and other publick Uses, that but little remained for the King to dispose of.

From *Saragossa*, where he had met with much Trouble, and but little Money, the King went to *Barcelona*, the Metropolis of *Catalonia*, where he met with less Money and more Trouble; having been detained there nine Months before the *Cortes* of that Principality had settled him in the Government, and had given the Donative which he had demanded; and when they had given it, they appropriated it so to the Payment of publick Debts, that when they were all discharged, there remained but five and twenty Pounds for the King's own Use, who had spent near a Million of *Castilian* Ducats, which are more than *Catalonian* Pounds, among them: And whereas several of those Debts were of a very long standing, the *Catalonians* being ask'd by the Ministers what they meant by reviving such old Debts, made answer, that perceiving how the *Flemish* and *French* Ministers, by whom the King was governed, were come into *Spain* as into an Enemy's Country, intending after they had plunder'd it of all they could lay their hands on, to return with its Spoils to *Flanders*; they judg'd it was time to see those publick Debts discharged,

charged, which out of Affection to their former Princes who had lived among them, and had been as Fathers to them, they had let sleep so long: The *Catalonians* and all the rest of the *Spaniards* complained likewise very much of all Offices being sold by *Chevers* and his Lady, which they said was a Practice had never been heard of before in *Spain*.

Whilst the King was detained at *Barcelona*, he received the News of his being chose Emperor, and was desired by the Envoys sent to him by the Imperial Diet, to make haste to come to them: The *Spaniards* were so far from rejoicing at this News, that they said, it was one of the worst Things that could have befallen *Spain*, which by this Means would become as a Province to *Germany*, where their King would reside for the most part, to the draining of *Spain* of all its Treasure, to support an high, empty, foreign Title: But the young King, who had other Thoughts of it, was in such haste to go to *Germany*, that he put off his Journey to *Valentia*, whither he was to have gone next, sending the Cardinal *Adrian* thither to acquaint them with the Reason why he did not come to them as he had designed, and to desire them, after the Example of *Castile* and *Aragon*, to settle him in the Throne.

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But when the Cardinal came with this Commission to *Valentia*, he found that City turned upside down; the Citizens having a few Days before turned all the Nobles, save one, who they said was an honest Man, out of the City; and committed the Government of it to the 96 Syndicks or Wardens of the 48 Companies of Tradesmen, to whom the Cardinal having addressed himself, and acquainted them with his Business; they told him, That *the Constitution of their Government was such, as did not permit them to own the Prince to be their King, before he was declared to be so by a Cortes, and had taken an Oath to govern them according to Law*: And when they were told by the Cardinal, that the King had taken that Oath at *Barcelona*, in the Presence of their Commissioners; they reply'd, *That would not do, and that they would send Commissioners to the Prince to let him know so much, and to acquaint him with their Reasons why they had turned the Nobles out of their City, whose Tyranny they said, was grown insupportable to Men that were free born*: And accordingly they dispatched a substantial Shoemaker and Carpenter to the King; who having waited on him at *Saragossa* as he was returning to *Castile* for a fresh Supply of Money, were well received by him, and dismissed with a Promise, that so soon

soon as he returned from *Germany*, he would come and hold a *Cortes* among them, and make such Laws as should secure them from being tyrannised over by the Nobles. And in the mean while he ordered the Vice-chancellor of *Aragon*, and one *Garcias* an eminent Lawyer to go to *Valentia*, and examine the Matters in Difference, betwixt the Nobles and the Commons, and to make a true Report of them to those he should name, to determine them.

The King being in great want of Money when he returned to *Valledolid*, called a new *Cortes*; and to make the *Castilians* sensible of his being highly displeased with them, he appointed that *Cortes* to meet at the *Groin*, a Sea-port Town in the Province of *Gallicia*; and where, as soon as he was supply'd with Money, he designed to embark for *Flanders*; and upon the *Castilians* having remonstrated against the assembling of their *Cortes* in a remote Province, that had not so much as one Vote in it, as the most unreasonable thing that had ever been done by any Prince; the King threatned that if they did not behave themselves more dutifully, and send such Procurators to the *Cortes* he had called, as should grant him as much Money as he had occasion for, that he would remove all the Courts of Judicature out of *Castile* into that loyal Pro-

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vince; by which strange Acts and Threatnings, the *Castilians*, out of whose Purfes the Money given by that *Cortes* was to come, were so incensed, that they every where said openly, *That they were treated by their Flemish King, and his Countrymen, more like Slaves than like free born Subjects; the commanding a Castilian Cortes to meet in Galicia, and the demanding of a new Donative before the Time was expired where-in the former was to have been paid; and the commanding of all Cities and Towns to send such Procurators to that remote Cortes as should grant all the Money that should be demanded of them; and threatening them if they did not, to remove all Courts of Judicature out of the Kingdom, they said was a Language no Castilian King had ever spoke to their Subjects in before; and was indeed to rule them with a Rod of Iron, which one of his Northern Ministers had been heard to say, was the only way to govern Spaniards.*

The Citizens of *Valledolid*, who so long as they had the Queen in their Neighbourhood, expected to have both the Court and the *Cortes*, when it met, still in their City, were so enraged by these strange Doings, and several Stories that were grafted upon them by discontented Spirits, that they took up Arms; resolving not to suffer the King to go without their Gates, before he had

had changed both his Measures and his Counsellors: But the King not being willing to change either the one or the other, taking the Advantage of a tempestuous Night, when the Streets and Gates were thin guarded, he got out of Town; and having made his Mother a short Visit at *Tordesillas*, he rode Post to *Compostella*, where he thundred out a Proclamation against the City of *Valledolid*, Declaring that City, for the Violence they had offer'd to his Royal Person, to have forfeited its Charter, and all its Privileges; and commanding all its Markets and Fairs to be kept in other Places. From *Compostella*, having paid his Devotions to the Body of *St. James* the Apostle, the Patron of Spain, he went to the *Groin*, where he was waited upon by *Don Peter de Lasso a Vega*, and *Don Alonso Sylva*, who were sent by the City of *Toledo*, to protest against the Assembly called by the King at the *Groin*, as no lawful Cortes: As also to let the King know, that his having nominated a Stranger to be their Primate, was against the Laws he had taken an Oath to observe: This Message was delivered with that Freedom and Courage, that the King commanded *Lasso upon his Allegiance to repair immediately to the Castle of Gibraltar*, whereof he was Governor; and *Sylva, to go to Naples, and look after*

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his Regiment that was there: And the Conde de Palma, Governor of Toledo, who had come along with those Commissioners to acquaint the King with the turbulent Estate of that City, had his Commission taken from him, for not having curbed the Insolency of that proud Place; which the King said, *should be taught better Manners than to fly in his Face if they had not their Wills in all things.* Don Peter de Giron, a brisk young Nobleman, waited on the King at the same time, to desire to have Justice done him against the Duke de Medina Sidonia, his Kinsman, who by Force kept from him a great Part of his Estate; to which Petition the King having returned a rough Answer: Giron clapt his Hand on the Hilt of his Sword, and swore, that if the King would not, *that should do him Justice*; and the King having bid him go, and do his worst; he reply'd, he knew what *he had to do*, and so withdrew.

The Cortes being assembled, the Galicians, who have no Voice in that Assembly, judging this to be a very proper Time to obtain the Privilege of having Procurators in it, the Archbishop of Compostella, and divers Galician Nobles, went in a Body to the Convent, where the House of Commons sat; and finding the Doors shut, they sent in word, that they desired to be admitted,

admitted, having something of great Moment to that Body, to communicate to it; but the Commons knowing their Business, would not suffer their Doors to be open'd to them; whereupon the Archbishop and the Nobles made a Protestation in the open Street against all that should be done in that or any other *Cortes* wherein the Province of *Galicia* had not Procurators of their own to represent them: The Commissioners of *Toledo*, who had not gone to the Posts the King had commanded them to repair to, made a Protestation likewise against all that should be done in that Assembly; to which their City, not looking upon it as a lawful *Cortes*, had sent no Procurators; and the Procurators of *Salamanca* having protested against the giving of a new Donative, before the Time was expired for the Payment of the former, were expelled the House for adhering to that Protestation; And though great Numbers of the Procurators, and of the chief Cities, did violently oppose the giving of any Money, the Sum that had been demanded was granted by a Majority; and who were said to have been hired by Bribes, and by Promises of Offices made to them by the Bishop of *Badajoz* and the Commendador of *Calatrava*; who, for such Practices, were every where called *Flemish Tools*, as the Nobles for looking on,
and

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and complying with such Things, were call'd *Chevers's Journeymen*, and who, so they could but have a share of its Spoils, did not care how much their Country was plunder'd by Foreigners.

The Cities and Towns of *Castile* having been in a great Ferment before, were so intraged when they heard of the *Cortes* having given a new Donative, and of the Methods it had been procured by; that it was visible to every Body, that if a speedy and effectual Course were not taken to prevent it, there would be a general Revolt of all the Commons of the Kingdom, as there was already of the Commons of *Valentia*, who had now chased away their Viceroy for having attempted to recall the expelled Nobles; and the Citizens of *Toledo* having taken up Arms, when they heard how their Commissioners and Governor had been treated at the *Groin*, and how they themselves had been threatned for the Remonstrances they had made against the King's illegal and arbitrary Proceedings; it was generally believed, the great Combustion *Spain* was in, would have obliged the King to put off his Voyage, and to have return'd to *Castile*, to do something that might quiet the Minds of the Commons; but the Northern Ministers being afraid to go back themselves, they perswaded the King to pro-

proceed in his intended Voyage without giving the *Spaniards* so much as a Promise of ever making any change of those Measures, whereby he had rendered himself and his Government so odious among them; and accordingly, on the 22^d of May 1520, he embark'd at the *Groin*, leaving the Cardinal *Adrian* sole Governor of *Castile*, but with so limited an Authority, that that honest Man was said to have no Power, but only to dispose of small Ecclesiastical Preferments as they fell; and who, when any thing that was considerable was desired of him, did use to tell the Petitioners, *that if they would have it, they must go to the King in Flanders for it*, which the *Spaniards* said, *was to send them to Chevers to buy it of him*.

When the Commissioners of *Toledo* returned home from the *Groin*, they were met and conducted to their Houses by the whole City, with loud Acclamations of their being true Castilians, and *who*, for their Courage and Zeal for their Country, *deserv'd to have Statues erected for them, in every City and Town in the Kingdom*; and the Citizens who were all in Arms before, were now form'd into Regiments: the Chief Command of the Soldiery being committed to *Don John de Padilla*, a Nobleman of great Courage, but very young, and of no Experience, and who was persuaded by his

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his Lady *Donna Maria Pacheica*, Daughter to the Marquis *de Mondejar*, a Woman of rare Wit, Beauty, and Courage, to accept of that Employment.

The City of *Toledo*, having thus put their Militia in Order, sent Letters to all the other Cities, and great Towns of *Castile*, to inform them of the Causes of their having taken up Arms, and to exhort them to associate together, in the Defence of their common Liberties, which were so insolently invaded and trampled upon by Foreigners; and neither to pay the Donative granted by that illegal Assembly at the *Groin*, nor the Excises called *Alcavalas*, which having been given by a *Cortes* above an hundred Years before, only for eight Years, were still kept up, and were, contrary to Law, required as a standing Tribute.

Most of the Cities and great Towns of *Castile* having, after the Example, and at the Instance of *Toledo*, taken up Arms; they did all enter into an Association, obliging themselves by an Oath to stand by one another, and never to lay down their Arms until their Laws and Liberties were secured to them and their Posterity, and until all that have invaded them, and had betray'd their Country, were brought to condign Punishment, to terrify others from ever making any more such Attempts.

But

But as none had render'd themselves so universally odious as they, who in the *Gallego Cortes* had given their Voices for a new Donative; so the People having been furnished with a List of all their Names, they murdered them wherever they met with 'em; and in all Places did either burn or pull down their Houses. So the People of *Segovia*, understanding that *Tordesillas* who had been one of their Procurators in that *Cortes*, and had voted for a Donative, was returned home, they went to his House, and having met with him, they asked him what News he had brought from the *Groin*: *Tordesillas*, who was a haughty Man, having answered, *That he had something else to do, than to give an Account of what was done in a Cortes to a Rabble*: they immediately laid Hands on him, and after having dragged him by the Heels through all the Streets of the City; they hang'd him upon the common Gibbet, and that with so great a Rage, that they would not suffer a Frier who begg'd it of them upon his Knees, to confess and absolve him; crying out, *that none but the Hangman could absolve Rogues, that had betrayed their Country*; and a grave Man that was standing by, was hang'd up with him, only for having muttered, *That this was both impious and barbarous*, as was also a publick Notary, who was found

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in a Corner, writing down the Names of the Ringleaders of that Tumult.

At *Burgos* likewise, the People pulled down the Houses, and burnt all the Furniture of two of their Procurators, whose Names were *Mota* and *Jefferys*, for having voted a Donative: and *Jefferys*, who came to *Burgos* not long after, in Company with the *French* Ambassador, having threatened, as he was going out of the Gates with the same Minister to *Tordesillas*, that when he returned to *Burgos*, He would have his House rebuilt with the Sculls and Bones of the Rascals who had pulled it down: He was pursued until he was forc'd to take Sanctuary in a Church two Miles out of Town. And notwithstanding all that the *French* Ambassador could plead in his behalf, as being of his Retinue, and the Priests could say to them against violating the Sanctuary of their Church, they drag'd him from the High Altar, crying out, *That a Rogue that had betray'd his Country, ought not to have the Benefit of any of its Sanctuaries*: And having carried him back to *Burgos*, beating him all the way most unmercifully, they hang'd him upon the common Gibbet, bidding him, *Go and build his House with their Sculls*.

At *Zamora* the People were kept from pulling down the Houses of their Procurators,

tors, who ~~had~~ made their Escape, by their Bishop *Don Anthony d' Acuna*, a Prelate of great Knowledge and Courage, and who in this War was one of the Commons chief Captains, as well as Counsellors; he had been Dean of the Chapel to Queen *Isabella*, and was in her Favour so much, that had *Toledo* become vacant in her latter Years, it was generally believ'd she would have conferr'd that Archbishoprick upon him: And though this Bishop and the Prior of *Complutum* were the only great Prelates that declared themselves openly to be on the side of the Commons, most of the rest were, in the beginning of these Troubles, Well-wishers to them; that single Act of the King's having made a Foreigner, and who was very young too, Archbishop of *Toledo*, having contributed more to this Civil War, than all the other Male-Administrations put together: And so zealous were most of the Priests and Friars for the Commons, that they canonized their Cause, christening their Supreme Council, *The Santa Junta*. And though few of the Nobles did ever join with the Commons, yet they were all so far Well-wishers to the main of their Cause, that none of them acted vigorously against them, until they were forc'd out of that Neutrality, by the Commons threatning the Nobles, if they did not
join

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join with them, with a Resumption of all the Crown Lands.

The associated Cities and Towns having all agreed to lodge the supreme Government and Direction of all publick Affairs, in an Assembly made up of the same Members with a *Cortes*; and having appointed the City of *Abula* to be the Place where that Assembly was to meet and sit: Procurators were accordingly chose by all the associated Corporations, and were sent to *Abula* in the same Numbers, but with much larger Powers than they used to be sent to a *Cortes*. The Cardinal Governor, dreading the ill Effects of such a great Assembly, did all that was in his Power to have diverted the Commons from calling it, having offer'd them, if they would not do it, both a Pardon for all that was past, and a Redress of all their true Grievances; of which he affirm'd, that the greatest Patriot in *Castile* was neither more sensible, nor more desirous to have 'em all remedy'd than he was: And when the *Junto* was assembled, he dispatched Commissioners to them with the same Propositions, offering, if they would lay down their Arms, to procure for them all that they had desired when they first took them up.

But the *Junto*, which from its Birth is said to have design'd to carry Things much farther

farther than the Commons had looked when they first revolted, sent the Cardinal word, *That though they had a very great Honour for his Person, and did not in the least doubt of his being a Friend and Well-wisher to the Castilians and their Liberties; nevertheless since their Laws did not allow any that was a Foreigner to be their Governor, they were oblig'd to command and require him, being a Foreigner, not to stile himself, or act any longer as Governor of Castile: Offering him at the same time, not only their Protection, but their Favour, if he would either come and live among them, or live any where else in Castile, as a private Person: And as to the Pardon he had offer'd, they said, They were not sensible of their ever having done any thing to make them stand in need of one; and that as they had been forc'd to have recourse to Arms, having no other way left to recover and preserve their oppress'd Laws and Liberties, so whenever they were sufficiently secured to them and their Posterity, they should be ready to lay them down, and after the Example of their Ancestors, in the quiet Enjoyment of the same Rights and Privileges, to continue his Majesty's most obedient and faithful Subjects.* And to satisfy all the World, as well as the Cardinal, of the Justice of their Arms, the Junta set forth a *Manifesto*, containing the

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Reasons of their having had recourse to them, and the Terms whereon they should be ready to lay them down again: In all which, they pretended to desire nothing that was new, or that was not agreeable to the Laws and Customs which the King, at his first coming to the Crown, had taken an Oath to maintain. The chief things required by the Commons in this *Manifesto*, were:

- I. *That the King shall reside and keep all his Courts in Castile; or if he shall at any time have Occasion to be absent, it shall not be lawful for him to appoint any that are not Natives of the Kingdom to be its Governors.*
- II. *That none but Natives shall be capable of any Office or Benefice, either in Church or State.*
- III. *That the King shall not marry, but with the Consent of his Cortes.*
- IV. *That no Foreigners shall be naturalized.*
- V. *That the Procurators shall be paid for their Attendance on the Cortes, by the Corporations they serve for.*
- VI. *That it shall not be lawful for the King to give any Office or Sallary to any of the Procurators of the Cortes, or to name their President, nor to send Letters that*

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that are not open to any of the Procurators.

VII. *That a Cortes shall be assembled once in three Years at least, and which shall sit and consult about the publick Affairs of the Kingdom.*

VIII. *That there shall be no free Quarters either for Soldiers, or for any of the King's Servants, for above six Days, and that only when Soldiers are upon a March, and the Court in a Progress: After the Expiration of which six Days, the chief Magistrates of the Place where they are shall appoint how much they shall pay for their Quarters.*

IX. *That the Rewards which have been given or promised to any of the Members of the late Assembly at the Groin, shall be all revoked.*

X. *That the Excises shall be reduced to the State they were in, at the Death of Queen Isabella.*

XI. *That all that has been given from the Crown since that Queen's Death shall be resumed.*

XII. *That all new Officers erected in the King's Household, since that Queen's Death, shall be dissolved.*

XIII. *That none shall hold two Offices in the King's Household.*

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- XIV. That all Privileges which have been at any time granted to the Nobles, to the Prejudice of the Commons, shall be revoked.
- XV. That the Government of Cities and Towns shall not be put into the Hands of any of the Nobles.
- XVI. That no chief Magistrate of any City or Town shall receive any Salary from any Nobleman.
- XVII. That the Lands of the Nobles shall pay to all publick Taxes, equal with those of the Commons.
- XVIII. That no Gold, Silver, or Jewels shall, upon Pain of Death, be sent out of the Kingdom.
- XIX. That it shall not be lawful for the King to give away any Money before it has been paid into the Treasury.
- XX. That no Corregidor of any City or Town shall continue in that Office above a Year, unless the People of the Place do petition to have him continued in it.
- XXI. That the Corregidors shall be paid their Salaries out of the Treasury, and not out of the Forfeitures of People who have been condemned by them.
- XXII. That the Goods of Persons accused shall not be given to any, before they are convicted and condemned.

XXIII. That whosoever shall presume to execute any Office after they are convicted of having bought it, shall be punished with Death.

XXIV. That if any of the King's Officers are convicted of having done any Wrong to the Subject, they shall not only be turned out of their Places for it, but shall be for ever render'd incapable of all publick Employments.

XXV. That none shall be compelled to purchase Papal Indulgences, and that all the Money arising from such Indulgences shall be employed against the Infidels, and all Pensions granted upon it shall be revoked.

XXVI. That the late Breve subjecting the Ecclesiasticks in several Cases to the King shall be abolished.

XXVII. That Prelates who do not reside with their Flocks six Months in a Year, shall lose all their Profits, during the time they are absent.

XXVIII. That the Custom-house for Indian Goods shall never be removed from the Place where it is at present.

XXIX. That neither Sheep nor Wool shall be suffer'd to go out of the Kingdom.

XXX. That the Queen shall be allow'd a Royal Maintenance.

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The *Junta*, which was now ador'd and obey'd every where almost, that they might not seem to have laid their *Flemish* King aside, as well as his *Dutch* Governor, by having never, since they took up Arms, made any manner of Application to him, named Commissioners to go and wait upon him in *Germany*, and who having laid all their Grievances before him, were ordered to let him know, *That if he would remove, and punish those evil Counsellors, who had been the Authors of all the late Male-Administrations, and would call a free Cortes, and therein give his Royal Assent to all the forementioned Provisions, and which being all agreeable to the Laws and Customs he had taken an Oath to maintain, they said he could not in Justice deny to his Commons, that they would then not only lay down their Arms, which they had, contrary to their Inclinations, been forc'd to have recourse to, but would become Examples of Fidelity and Obedience to his Person and Government, to all his other Subjects.* They were ordered likewise to endeavour to satisfy the King, *That by granting to the Commons all that they desired, his Crown would be enriched, and his Power and Authority, by lessening of that of the Nobles, would be much increased.*

With

With these Instructions the *Junta's* Commissioners, of whom Father *Paul de Leon*, a zealous *Dominican Frier*, was the first, pass'd through *France* to have waited upon the King in *Germany*; but having before they were got out of the *French Territories*, received Intelligence from some Friends they had in the Court, that there was an Order from the Emperor, *To apprehend and make them all close Prisoners, as soon as they set Foot on German Ground*; they all returned home, full of furious Exclamations against the Northern Ministers, whom they called *The King's Governors*, inflaming their Countrymen, wherever they came, by assuring them, *That nothing but their Swords could open a Way for their Grievances to the King's Ear through those Brigades of Harpies that were about him.*

This Treatment of their Commissioners was highly resented by the *Junta*, as a thing that had no President in *Castile*, none of their Kings having ever before deny'd the hearing to the Complaints of any private Subject that address'd themselves to them, and much less to the whole Body of the Commons of the Kingdom, waiting upon them with a Representation of publick Grievances: and so despairing of ever being able to obtain any Relief from the King, they resolved to apply themselves to the Queen,

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and if they found her in her Senses, which she was universally reported to be in, to persuade her to come abroad, and take the Government of the Kingdoms upon her self, which upon a false supposition of her not being capable of managing it, had by a *Cortes* been rashly committed to her Son; by whom, and his Northern Ministers, the *Castilian* Laws and Liberties had been so trampled upon, that the Commons had been forc'd to have recourse to Arms, to preserve them from being utterly destroyed.

The Cardinal, who hitherto had used no Violence with the Commons, being unwilling to begin the shedding of Blood in a military way, when he came to be acquainted with this Design of the *Junta's*, he resolved to hinder its execution by entring upon Action; and having been informed that *Segovia* was but weakly fortify'd, and had no strong Garison in it, he order'd one *Ronquelos*, an experienc'd Commander, to march with a Body of *Veteran* Troops, and surprize that City, which was one of the most mutinous in the whole Kingdom; but having to that end sent to *Medina Campi*, where the King's Stores of War were kept, for some Canon and Ammunition, the Inhabitants, who had made themselves Masters of all the Magazines, sent him word, *That they would blow up the Magazines,*
and

and themselves with them, sooner than furnish Canon and Ammunition to destroy their countrymen for standing in Defence of their common Liberties: Which Repulse, though it mortify'd the Cardinal extremely, did not divert him from prosecuting his Design on *Segovia*; toward which, *Ronuelos* marched in great Haste, and though he fought and defeated a Body of the Commons much superior to him in Number, which had rashly attempted to have stopt him in his March, he had not well invested that City, when he was glad to draw off his Men, and retreat with great Precipitation to *Valledolid*, upon having receiv'd Intelligence, that *Pardilla* was advancing towards him with an Army to force him to a Battel, for which he was no ways prepared.

The Cardinal's first hostile Enterprize having thus miscarried; his second was, to recover, if it were possible, the King's Magazines in *Medina*, before the *Junta* had put a Garison into that Place, which he reckon'd, now he had begun to commit Hostilities upon them, they would do speedily; and accordingly he commanded *Don Antony de Fonseca*, General of all the King's Forces in *Castile*, to draw together all the Troops he could, and whatever it cost him, to make himself Master of those Magazines.

Fonseca,

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Fonseca, when he came before *Medina*, having receiv'd the same Answer to a Summons he had sent to the Magistrates by a Trumpeter, as was given by them before to the Cardinal, began to thunder upon them with his Canon, and with Granadoes, designing, so soon as he had made a Breach in their Walls, which were not very strong, to have assaulted them; but a Granado, or Canon Bullet happening to fall into the Magazine where all the Powder lay, set fire to it, and which blowing up, laid not only the Magazines, but all the Buildings in the Town in Rubbish, under which most of the Inhabitants, that were not upon the Walls, were smothered and buried. *Fonseca*, upon this dreadful Blow, summoned them a second time, for the sake of the Canon, which were all the Stores that were left unconsum'd, to surrender upon Discretion; which the Inhabitants having refused to do, he assaulted them on all sides; but the Defendants being put into a perfect Fury by the lamentable Destruction of their Town, maintained their Walls and Gates so well, that *Fonseca*, after having made several Attacks, and in which he lost a great many of his best Men, was oblig'd to retreat, leaving the unhappy Inhabitants Masters of the great Heap of Rubbish he had made.

The News of the Desolation of *Medina* enraged the whole Kingdom almost to Madness; for besides that it was large and well built Town, the Merchants Goods which had been lodg'd in the *Franciscan Convent* against the approaching great Fair, and which were all burnt, were valued at three hundred thousand Ducats: The *Junta* so resented this great Loss, that they proclaimed *Fonsēca an Incendiary* and a publick Enemy to his Country; commanding all People, wherever he came, to treat him as such; and the Cardinal, to throw the Odi-um of an Action which had put the whole Kingdom into so great a Flame, off the King and himself, wholly upon *Fonsēca*, did by a Proclamation declare solemnly, That *Fonsēca* had no Order from him either to fire Canon upon, or to throw any Granadoes into *Medina*; and that for having done it, to the utter Destruction both of that Town, and of his Majesty's Magazines, he had not only taken his Commission from him, but did further declare him for ever incapable of any publick Employment, leaving him to the Vengeance of the Law, for what he had done.

The People of *Valledolid*, who by the Cardinal's residing with them, and restoring to them their Charter, and all their former Privileges, and promising not to require the

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the new Donative, had till this time been kept from associating with the Commons, did now break loose, and having taken up Arms, they declared, *that they would look on no longer, to see their Country destroyed, for asserting its Rights and just Liberties;* and not being satisfy'd with what the Cardinal had done to *Fonseca*, they set fire to a noble and richly furnish'd House he had in their City, lamenting that they had not its Owner to have burnt him in it: From burning of *Fonseca's* House, they went to the House of *Don Francisco Serna*, who had been active for the Court in the late Assembly at the *Groin*; which they pulled down, and burnt all its Furniture; as they did also the House of one *Portelli*, a rich *Italian* Banker, for having not long before given a Project into the Lords of the Treasury, how the Revenue of the Excises might be advanced.

At *Burgos*, the People had murder'd their Bishop, who was Brother to *Fonseca*, for having drop'd some Words in *Fonseca's* Vindication, had he not escaped out of Town before his Palace was beset by them; and 'tho they spared his Palace, they vented their Fury on all they found in it that belonged to him, bringing all his Goods out, and burning them before his Gates: And at *Medina*, one *Cornelius Nepos* was stabb'd by
Badilla,

Badilla, a Shearer of Cloth, only for having said, *That had they let the Cardinal have the Canon he sent for, Medina had not been in Ruins*: and one *Vera* a Bookseller was torn in Pieces by the People, only for having said, *That he saw no Reason why the King shou'd not have had his own Canon when he sent for them*: and upon a Report that *Fonseca*, who did not know where to hide his Head, was coming to abscond himself in the Queen's Court in *Tordesillas*, the People told the Marquis of *Denia* the Queen's Keeper, *That if that Incendiary dared to come within their Walls, he should find no Sanctuary among them, no not in the Queen's own Bed-chamber.*

The Cardinal, now that *Valledolid*, where he had all along resided, had joined with, and sent Procurators to the *Junta*, apprehending that that Assembly would now execute their Design of setting up the Queen, offered to them, *that if they would promise to let all Things remain in the same State they were then in, until he returned again, to go in Person to Germany, to represent all their Grievances to the King, in such a manner, that he did not doubt of prevailing with him to redress them, and to remove all those Ministers from about him, who had been the Authors of them*: But the *Junta*, which did not doubt of the Cardinal's having all along

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solicited the King by Letters to do that which he now offer'd to go in Person to *Germany* to persuade him to; desired the Cardinal to let them see the Answers he had from time to time received from the Court to the true and free Representations he had made, because by that they should be better able to judge what would be the Success of his waiting upon the King in Person, and upon the Cardinal's desiring to be excused for not making the Answers he had received from the Court publick, the *Junta* concluded those Answers to be so unsatisfactory, that the Cardinal durst not publish them for fear of making things more desperate; so they thanked the Cardinal for his good Will, and told him, that they had reason to believe, that his going in Person to *Germany* would have no other Effect than his true and honest Remonstrance had had, and that it was a vain thing for him, or them, ever to hope for Redress of any of their Grievances, whilst the King was entirely in the Hands of those who had been the Authors of them all, and whom the Commons insisted on having removed from Court, and punished.

The *Junta* having thus answered the Cardinal, whom they commanded a second time not to style himself, or to act any longer as Governor of the Kingdom; they dispatch'd *Don John de Padilla*, the Dar-
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ling of the Commons, with a Guard of two hundred Horse, to wait upon the Queen, and to persuade her, if it was possible, to come abroad, and take the Government of the Kingdoms upon her self; When *Padilla* arrived at *Tordesillas*, he was received with a wonderful Joy by all the People; and having obtained leave from the Marquess of *Denia*, to wait upon her Majesty, after he had kissed her Hand, he acquainted her at large with all the Male Administrations and Tyrannies of her Son, and his Northern Ministers, by whom he was absolutely governed, and who, he said, treated the *Castilians* more like Slaves than like free born Subjects, and did either sell all Offices and Benefices, both in Church and State, or give them to their own Relations; and how the Commons of *Castile*, having in vain petitioned to have those evil Counsellors removed, and their insupportable Grievances redressed, had been forc'd to have recourse to their Arms, to preserve those ancient Laws and Liberties, which had been before always peaceably enjoy'd by their Ancestors, under her Majesty's Royal Progenitors: And at last he conjured her, as she had any Love for her Country, and the good People of *Castile*, who were so dear to her blessed Mother, to come abroad, and take upon her self
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the Government of her Kingdoms, which would otherwise be absolutely ruined.

The Queen, to whom all that *Padilla* had told her was News, having heard him with great Attention, made answer, *That so long as she lived her good People of Castile should not be oppress'd*: But when she was desired by *Padilla* to come abroad, and make a publick Declaration of her having taken upon her self the Government of her Kingdoms, which he said was the only way whereby she could preserve them from being ruined, she would not speak a Word more, though *Padilla* upon his Knees urged her most passionately to promise to make such a Declaration, and to let her loving Subjects see her abroad, which he said was the thing in the world they desired the most.

However, upon what the Queen had said, *Padilla* reported to the *Junta*, that upon the Representation he had made to her of the great Miseries of *Castile*, she had promised to resume the Government, and to rule them according to their ancient Laws and Customs; upon which Report the *Junta* removed from *Abula* to *Villabraxim*, a Town in the Neighbourhood of *Tordesillas*; from whence, after a few Days, they went all in a Body to wait upon the Queen, with a Petition to her in the Name of all the Commons of *Castile*, to come abroad and take upon her self the Government

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Government of her Kingdoms, which would otherwise be ruined: The Queen made answer, *That so soon as her Health would permit it, she would do all that her good People had desired of her*: But when she was importuned to signify so much presently by a Proclamation, and to take her own Time to go abroad, she intreated the *Junta* to have a little *Patience*, without saying a Word more to them.

But though the Queen her self would not do it, the *Junta*, upon the Promise she had made them, set forth a Proclamation, declaring, that her Majesty had resolved, out of the tender Love she had for *Castile*, and the good People thereof, to take upon her self the Government, and after the Example of all her Royal Progenitors, to govern her Subjects according to the ancient Laws, and not to suffer them to be any longer tyranniz'd over by Strangers.

Never was any thing receiv'd with a greater or more universal Joy than this News was all over the Kingdom of *Castile*, in which for several Days nothing was heard, but *Long may our Castilian Queen live, and may foreign Counsellors perish*; and as the next Night, after the Queen's having assumed the Government was celebrated at *Tordesillas*, *Valledolid*, and all the neighbouring Places with Illuminations and Fireworks, it was celebrated

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brated so in all Parts of the Kingdom, as soon as they had the News of it: And to give the Queen some Diversion, a Tilt on Horseback was performed by several young Noblemen under the Windows of her Apartment; the Queen stood in a Balcony to see it, and seemed to be well pleased both with the Exercise and the loud Acclamations of the People, who had flock'd together to see her.

Upon the Queen's having been thus diverted, the *Junta* conceived Hopes that she might be perfectly cured of her Melancholy; and to that End they dismiss'd her Keeper, and all the other Officers that were about her, that were suspected to be in her Son's Interest, putting *Don Alonso Quintinilla* and his Lady in the Room of the Marquis of *Denia* and his Marchioness; and believing that a living Husband might be a proper Means to cure her of her distemper'd fondness for her dead Husband's body, they released *Don Ferdinand*, a Prince of the House of *Naples*, out of his Prison in which he had been kept several Years, with an Intention of marrying him to the Queen: But that Prince, we are not told for what Reason, having quickly left the Commons, and made himself a Prisoner again, this great Design came to nothing: The *Junta* being, it is like, afraid that they might have disoblig'd their
Queen,

Queen, had they gone about to have persuaded her to marry one of her Subjects.

It had been happy for the Commons never to have taken any Notice of this distemper'd Princess; who having relapsed soon after into her former Melancholy, and to which the removing of all her old Servants might probably have contributed, the *Junta's* having contrived to have set her on the Throne, was the Cause of the first Disunion that had appeared in that Body: For though the desiring the Queen to take the Government upon herself was carried in the *Junta* by a great Majority, yet its having been violently opposed by several of the Procurators of some of the chief Cities, and particularly by those of *Burgos*, made such a Rent in that Assembly as was never well cemented: for besides that that great City was much influenced by the Constable of *Castile*, who lived in it; it was very much disobliged by the *Junta's* having given the first Place in a *Cortes* to the Procurators of *Toledo*, to which *Burgos* had always pretended: Which Controversy, betwixt those two great Cities, though it was of a very long standing, no *Cortes* had ever taken upon it to decide.

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The Cardinal, who was extremely troubled at the *Junta's* having got the Queen in their keeping, and at the great Joy the News of her having promised to come abroad, and take the Government into her own Hands, had been entertain'd with, all over the Kingdom, dispatch'd the Bishops of St. *Lucar*, and of *Oviedo*, who were both reckon'd to be Well-wishers to the Commons, to *Tordesillas*, to which place the *Junta* was come, with some new Propositions.

But tho' the *Junta* would not receive those two popular Prelates, as Deputies sent to them by the Governor of the Kingdom, they gave them an Audience, as Messengers sent to them by the Cardinal; and having consider'd the Propositions which they brought, they desired them to let the Cardinal know, that tho' the Commons of *Castile* did not doubt of his being a true Friend to them and their Liberties, yet they had no Reason to think, that he had Interest enough in the King to be able to do them any Service.

A few Days after, four Persons of Quality were by the *Junta* dispatch'd to *Valledolid*, to command the Cardinal, in the Name of the Queen, and of all the Commons of *Castile*, not to presume to call himself, or act any longer as Governor of the Kingdom,

dom, and to command the Council of State to come, with all their Books and Officers, to *Tordesillas*, where their Sovereign Queen kept her Court: the Persons in this Commission were, *Don John de Padilla*, General of the Forces of *Toledo*, *Don Francis Bravo*, General of the Forces of *Segovia*, *Don Alonso Aguila*, General of the Forces of *Avila*; and *Don John Zapata* General of the Forces of *Madrid*; and who had for their Speaker, Father *Alonso Medina*, an eloquent *Dominican* Frier.

These Commissioners were received by the People of *Valledolid* with Expressions of great Joy; and having been admitted into the Council of State, which had been assembled by the Cardinal, at their Request, and at which the Cardinal himself was present; the first thing they desired, was, that Father *de Medina* might be heard; which having been granted, that Frier, in a long Tragical Harangue, laid before the Council the great Miseries the Kingdom groan'd under, and the Causes of all those Miseries; and having extolled the holy *Junta*, as he call'd it, to the Skies, as an Assembly of the wisest Men, and best Patriots that had ever been before in *Castile*; he earnestly exhorted the Council, as they desired to prevent the Ruin of their Country, to join themselves to the *Junta*, which had

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no other Aims, but the Security of the publick Liberty, and the Preservation of the Rights of the Subject: All which, he said, should the Commons, now they had taken up Arms to assert them, be conquered by the King and his Court, would be eternally lost, and *Castile*, of the most renowned, would become the most contemptible and miserable Kingdom in the World. After the Frier had done speaking, the Commissioners delivered their Message, and commanded the Cardinal and Counsel of State to yield Obedience to it, upon Pain of the Queen's and Commons high Displeasure.

The Cardinal, after having complained of the *Junta's* having slighted all the kind and sincere Offers he had made them of his Service, and re-primanded Father *Medina* severely, for having left his Cell, to turn a *Trumpeter of Sedition*, desired the Commissioners to let the *Junta* know, *that being the King's natural born Subject, he was no Foreigner in the Eye of the Law of Castile*; and that as he had never been in a Correspondence with any that were Enemies to the Liberties of the Subject, so he was resolv'd never to enter into any such Correspondence. After the Cardinal had done speaking, the President of the Council told the Commissioners, *That the Cardinal having*

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ing been appointed by the King Governor of the Kingdom, during the time of his Absence; it was not lawful for them to assemble any where without his Order: The Commissioners answer'd, The Junta will be obeyed, and so left the Council, and went strait to the Town-house, where the Magistrates of the City had been order'd to attend them; and who having been harangu'd by Frier Medina, and told, among other things, That if they did not execute the Commands of the holy Junta on the Cardinal, and the Council of State, they would pull down the Vengeance of Heaven, and of the whole Kingdom upon their Heads; they promised to see the Junta obey'd in that, and every thing else, so far as they had Power to serve it; and they were as good as their Word; for after this, they did not only hinder the Cardinal from appearing and acting as Governor of the Kingdom, but confined him to his House, obliging all the Privy Councillors they could meet with, to go with their Officers to Tordesillas; the Cardinal who had been twice taken, and brought back to his House, as he was attempting to have got away, understanding that Dr. Olmedilla, and Dr. Benardino, two famous Lawyers, and who had always been suspected of being Friends to the Commons, were going of their own accord to

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Tordesillas, he sent to speak with them before they went; and when they waited upon him, he told them, that since they would go to the *Junta*, he would have them let that Assembly know, that if they would promise to let things continue as they were until he returned, that he would go to *Germany*, as the Solicitor of the Commons of *Castile* with their King, and from whom if he were with him in Person, he did not question to obtain as much for them as they could in Reason desire of him. The Lawyers did not only promise to acquaint the *Junta* with this Proposition, but said they would use their utmost Endeavour to persuade them to accept of it; which, when they were at *Tordesillas*, they were so far from doing, that instead of telling the *Junta* that the Cardinal desired to go to *Germany*, to serve the Commons, they told them, that he desired to have leave to come to them at *Tordesillas*, to confer with them; to which the *Junta* agreed, but upon four Conditions.

The *First* was, That he should not assume the Title, nor use any of the Ensigns of Governor of the Kingdom.

The *Second* was, That he should not come with any Guards.

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The *Third* was, That he should go strait to the Lodgings which should be provided for him, and not go abroad without the *Junta's* Leave.

And the last was, That he should send no Letters to the King, nor to any other Person, without having first shewed them to the *Junta*.

Don Peter Giron, who was a great Friend of the Cardinal's, was sent by the *Junta*, to wait upon him to *Tordesillas*, if he would agree to those Conditions; but the Cardinal, when *Giron* had acquainted him with the Business, deny'd that he had ever said any thing to those Lawyers, about having leave to go to the *Junta*; and being vehemently urged by *Giron*, to go to them, however; alledging, *That he would be able to do both the King and the Kingdom great Service by it*; he reply'd, *That unless he were carried to the Junta by Force, he was resolved never to go to the Place where they sat, upon any Terms, and much less upon the dishonourable Terms which they had been pleased to prescribe*: So he continued under Confinement at *Valledolid*, until he received Advice of *Don Henrique Henriquez*, the Admiral of *Castile*, being marched into the Kingdom with an Army he had drawn out of the Garisons of *Aragon* and *Catalonia*; and

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having after that stole out of the City by Night, attended only by one Servant, he fled to *Rioseco*, a Castle belonging to the Admiral: and where he had not been long, before the *Biscainers*, whose barren Country is their only Grievance, sent him some Troops for his Guards, with an Offer of more, to reduce the Commons of *Castile* to Obedience.

The Island of *Gervis*, which is one of the *Syrtes*, having at this time been taken from the *Spaniards* by the *Turks*, the Garifon that was in that Island, when it was landed in *Spain*, was courted by both sides to join with them; and *Giron* having been employed therein by the *Junta*, acquitted himself so well, by having with his own Money gained most of those Soldiers to declare for the Commons, that he was for that Service declared Generalissimo of all their Forces, to the great Discontent of the Soldiery, and of all the Commons, who could not endure that any one, and much less *Giron*, of whose Fidelity they were still jealous, should be set over *Padilla*; who was commonly called by them the *Hannibal* of his Age: and who, if the Populous could have had their Wills, had been proclaimed King of *Castile*; as he was by the Vicar of *Mediana*, a Town in the Neighbourhood of *Abula*; who exhorted his Auditors to say three *Ave Marys* with a
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most profound Devotion; one for the *holy Junta*, That God would prosper it: A second for his Majesty, *Don John de Padilla*: and a third for her Majesty, *Donna Maria de Padilla*, That God would prolong their Days: And when he observed the Congregation appear'd astonish'd at what he had said; he told them boldly, That they who aimed at nothing but the publick Good, were fit to be Sovereigns, and not they who oppress the People, and went about to rob them of their Liberties.

The first thing *Giron*, after he was made Generalissimo, was ordered by the *Junta* to do, was to sack *Albaggio*, a Castle belonging to *Fonseca*, in Revenge for his having burnt *Medina Campi*: but that Castle being well fortified and manned, *Giron*, after having assaulted it several Times, and lost a great many Men before it, was obliged to give it over; which ill Success in his first Enterprize. did very much increase the Suspicion the Commons had of his Fidelity to them, by reason of his being nearly related to the Admiral, and most of the Grandees, which they looked on as their most dangerous Enemies: But the *Junta* having been satisfy'd by *Giron*, of his having done all that he was able, to have executed their Orders, continued him in that high Post, until he gave them their Death's Blow; but whether through

through Treachery, or only through ill Conduct, is not known certainly.

Don Inigo de Velasco, Constable of *Castile*, having still appeared extremely discontented with the Court, had been suffered to live quietly in his House in *Burgos*, until now that it was discovered, that in the Beginning of the Troubles, he had persuaded a Messenger that had been sent by that City to the Province of *Marindatis*, to invite them to enter into the Association, not to go, and that he had kept him concealed in his House ever since: The Rumour of which Discovery having raised the Populace, they surrounded the Constable's House, threatening to set Fire to it, if their treacherous Messenger was not immediately brought forth to them: At first the Constable deny'd that there was ever any such Person in his House, and gave the People leave to search it all over for him; and when he found that would not do, he offered to deliver their Messenger, if they would promise only to spare his Life; but being told, that they would not make any such Promise, but would burn him with their Messenger in his House, if he did not immediately bring him forth; the poor Wretch was put into their Hands, and was forthwith hanged upon the Constable's Gates, on which they threatned to hang the Constable himself too, if he did
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not immediately leave *Burgos*: The Constable promised to obey them, and before Night he removed with his whole Family to his Country House in the Neighbourhood of that City; where having lived privately till the Heat of the Populace was assuaged; he entred into a Treaty with the Magistrates, offering, if they would promise not to commit any Act of Hostility until they could have an Answer from the Court, to join with the Commons, in case the King deny'd to give his Assent to the following *Provisions* being passed into *Laws*:

1. *That none but Natives of Castile should be capable of any Office or Benefice in it, either in Church or State.*
 2. *That it should be Death to carry Money out of the Kingdom.*
 3. *That there should be no such thing as Free Quarters.*
 4. *That the Excises should be reduced to what they were anciently.*
- Lastly, *That it shall not be lawful for the King to lay any new Taxes upon the Subject, unless they be given by a free Cortes.*

Whether the Constable was in earnest in this Treaty, or designed only to amuse the Commons, and to gain time till the Army he had sent for out of *Navar* was come up to him, upon the Magistrates of *Burgos* having
agreed

to it, he put two of his Sons as Hostages into their Hands: And after that, he prevailed with them to order their Procurators, in the *Junta*, to labour to persuade that Assembly to come to the same Agreement, and to threaten to leave them if they did not, or if they talked any more of depriving the King of the Authority and Title which had been conferred on him, by the *Cortes* of the Kingdom.

The Cities of *Zamora* and *Soria*, having come to an Agreement with the Nobles in their Neighbourhood, upon the same Articles, sent the same Orders to their procurators; to which Articles the *Junta* having absolutely refused to agree, or not to act any longer in the Queen's, without the King's Name, a great Heat and Disunion was caused by it; all which separate Treaties, and Seeds of Dissention, the *Junta*, had it been as hot in Execution, as it was in Council, might very easily have prevented: For, if upon the burning of *Medina Campi*, by which the whole Kingdom was put into a Flame, they had but removed the Queen to *Toledo*, and had secured the Cardinal, the Constable, the *Conde Beneventum*, and a few more of the Grandees in the same City, they had never been troubled with these Divisions, nor in all Probability had ever been destroyed by any *Spanish* Army.

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But from making such bold, but necessary Steps, the *Junta* was hindred, partly by the Hopes they were still in of gaining the Nobles to join with 'em, but chiefly by the feeble fear of making their Case desperate, which, considering what they had already done, was certainly a great Weakness in them.

The King, who had not seem'd to regard the Remonstrances which had been made to him by the Cardinal, and others, concerning the Dangers his Crown was in, in *Castile*, when he heard of the *Junta's* having got his Mother into their Hands, and of its being given out, and universally believed that she was perfectly in her Senses, and had promised to take the Government of the Kingdom upon her self, he was very much alarm'd, and judging it to be absolutely necessary for him to do something to quiet the Minds of the *Castilians*, and to give them Hopes of having all their Grievances redressed, he appointed the Constable and Admiral of *Castile*, in Conjunction with the Cardinal, Governors of the Kingdom, and promised to return speedily to *Castile*, and to call a *Cortes*, and therein to grant his good People all that they could in reason desire of him.

But when this Commission arrived, and was opened, as the Constable and Admiral did

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did both declare that they would not accept of it, because it did not give them Power sufficient to accommodate Matters with the Commons, so the *Junta* declared it to be void, for two Reasons;

1. *Because it made the Cardinal, who was a Foreigner, one of their Governors.*

2. *Because it had been signed out of the Kingdom, which they said, such a Commission ought not to be.*

But at this Time a Letter of the Cardinal's to the King was intercepted, and made publick by the *Junta*, which, as it increased their former good Opinion of the Cardinal, so it confirm'd 'em in their Despair, of ever obtaining any Redress of their Grievances from the Court. In which Letter the Cardinal told the King, with a *Dutch Freedom*, that all the Miseries of *Castile* had flow'd from his own Side; and that as often as he considered how great the Evils were which that Kingdom had been brought under by his covetous and tyrannical Ministers, and how he had left the *Castilians*, without giving them any Hopes of seeing those Evils ever remedied, he knew not well how to condemn the Commons, seeing their Case so desperate, for having had recourse to Arms: He told the King farther, that he must not hope ever to see a good End put to the present Disturbances, until *Castile* found it self governed

verned by its King, according to its Laws; and not according to the Wills and Passions of covetous and arbitrary Ministers: and that the King might not trust too much to the Power and good Affection of the Nobles, he assured him, that they were no less discontented than the Commons, with the Government of his Ministers; the *Conde* of *Beneventum* having told him plainly, that if the King did not satisfy the Commons, by granting them all their just Demands, that he was resolved to join with them; and for the Admiral, that he had said openly that the Sparks in *Germany* who had no Honours and Estates in *Castile* to lose, and who, after they had enraged the Commons almost to Madness, were got out of their Reach, must not think, that they who had both to lose, and were in the Jaws of the enraged Commons, would not take some Course to preserve themselves, and their Families; and that he had said farther, that he would join with the Commons, to help them to a Redress of their known great Grievances. In the conclusion he told the King, that if he did not remove all those Ministers that had oppress'd and provok'd the *Castilians* so highly, and did not govern the *Castilians* with more Wisdom and Moderation, that they would certainly lay both him and his Ministers aside, at least,

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whilst his Mother liv'd, who in one great Point was said by the *Castilians*, *To be wiser than her Son*; Which was, that none could persuade her to part with any thing; whereas her Son knew not how to deny any thing to the Harpies he was governed by.

The Commons made great Use of this Letter, to justify their having taken up Arms; as they did also of a new Project of the *Northern* Ministers, which had fallen into their Hands, how the Revenues of the Crown might be so increased, that the King should never have any Occasion to call a *Cortes* for Money.

The Admiral having advanced with his Army near to *Rioseco*, left it there, and without having seen the Cardinal, went, attended only by his menial Servants, to *Tordesillas*; where finding the Gates shut against him, he sent a Servant to desire leave to come in, having an Affair of great Moment to communicate to the *Junta*, and which he was certain would be acceptable to them.

But the *Junta* knowing the Admiral to be a crafty Man, sent him out word, *That he had any thing to communicate to them, he might do it by writing*; the Admiral then desired, *That his Kinsman Giron might be sent out to hear what he had to offer*; who having been

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been left by the *Junta* to his liberty, to go out to the Admiral, or stay, sent him word, *That the Post he was in would not suffer him to wait upon him*, knowing very well, that if he had gone out to him, he should have encreased the Jealousies the Commons had of him already.

But though the Admiral was much displeased with the *Junta*, for having deny'd to hear what he had to offer to them, yet having, when he was come near to *Rieseco*, been met by the Cardinal, with all the Troops he had got about him, he cry'd out to the Soldiers, *You must turn your Arms against the Moors, and not against the Commons of Castile, who are our own Flesh and Blood, and must not be reduced to Obedience by Force, but by a Redress of all their true Grievances*: And so zealous did the Admiral appear to have these Commotions ended in that manner, that he went within a few Days a second time to *Tordesillas*, attended only by his own Domesticks, where finding the Gates shut again, he desired the *Junta*, if they would not suffer him to come in, to send out some Deputies to hear what he had to offer; which having been done, the Admiral delivered the following Articles to the Deputies, offering, if the Commons would be satisfy'd with them, to join with them, until the King should give his Assent to their being passed into Laws.

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The *Articles* were,

- I. *That none that are not Natives of Castile shall be capable of any Office or Benefice in it, either in Church or State.*
 - II. *That it should not be lawful to send Money out of the Kingdom.*
 - III. *That the Excises shall be reduced to what they were formerly.*
 - IV. *That the Authority of the Alcaldes of the Court shall be retrenched.*
 - V. *That the great Expences of the Court shall be lessened.*
 - VI. *That Sumptuary Laws shall be made.*
 - VII. *That no Wool shall be exported.*
- Lastly, *That all the Commodities of the Kingdom shall be exported on home built Botoms.*

These *Articles* having been perused by the Deputies, the Admiral asked them, *What they thought of them?* they told him, *They had no Power to conclude or treat, but only to report to the Junta what should be offer'd:* He then desired to know, whether they believed the *Junta* would be satisfy'd with them? They answered, *They did not think they would;* and being asked why, they said, *Because they had rejected better Articles, offered to them by the Procurators of Burgos, from the Constable:* However, they pro-

promised to make a true Report to the *Junta* of all that he had said and offered; which having been done, the *Junta* sent the Admiral out word; *That though all that he had offer'd was good, yet it fell so much short of what the Commons insisted on, and with good Reason, that they could not, without betraying the Trust reposed in them by the Commons of Castile, be satisfy'd with so little; and did therefore refer him to the Manifesto, which had been published by them, of the Things the Commons insisted on having granted; intreating him, as he loved his Country, to join with them upon those Terms: This Answer so incensed the Admiral, that being returned to Rioseco, he took upon him the Title of one of the Governors of the Kingdom; and having called a Council the next Day, he declared in it, That the Commons were so high and unreasonable in their Demands, that nothing was to be thought of but fighting it out with them; and accordingly all that were in Arms, under the Name of the Communities of Castile, and all their Counsellors and Abettors were, by Sound of Trumpet, commanded to lay down their Arms, and to dissolve all their Junta's and Councils, upon pain of High-Treason; offering them a Pardon for all that was past, if they did so immediately: Which Proclamation was so far from striking any Terror*

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into the *Junta*, that they answer'd it with another, and which they commanded to be read in all the Markets of *Castile*, wherein they declared all, of whatsoever Degree or Quality, that should by Force of Arms, or by any other Way oppose the *Commons* of *Castile*, in asserting of their Rights and just Liberties, and in their Endeavours to remove evil Counsellors, and bring them to condign Punishment, to be Traitors to their Sovereign Queen, and their Country, commanding all People to look on them, and treat them as such upon Pain of Death.

The Admiral, who did not expect to have had his Proclamation so briskly answer'd, was sorry for what he had done; and being sensible that the *Commons* at that time were very strong, as well as high, he resumed the Thoughts of amusing them by Treaties until the *Navar* Army were got into *Castile*; and so having added some new *Articles* to those which he had formerly offered, he sent them to *Villabraxim*, where the Army of the *Commons* had their Head Quarters, by *Frier Antony de Guevara*, who at that time was much cry'd up by the *Commons* for the Freedom he had used with the Ministers and the Nobles in some Sermons which he had lately preached at *Rioseco*.

Frier Antony, who was a vain, self-conceited Man, imagining that nothing was

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able to withstand the Force of his Oratory, gladly accepted of this Employment; but having gone five Times betwixt *Rioseco* and *Villabraxim*, without having been able to obtain an Audience, he grew angry, and was so clamorous, that the *Junta* thought fit to appoint some Deputies to hear what he had to offer; who having called *Frier Antony* before them, he begun an Harangue, which lasted above half an Hour, in which he wished that the Deputies had heard the Sermons which had been lately preached by him before the Governors and the Nobles that were at *Rioseco*; and of which, because they had not been so happy as to hear them, he gave them some account, and particularly, of the bold and free Expressions which he had used; and after having told them how roughly he had treated the Nobles, he took the *Junta* to task, and represented all their Designs and Actions in the blackest Colours his hot Head could furnish his fluent Tongue withal; and without sparing to reflect severely on several of the Deputies that were present, as Ringleaders of Sedition, and Enemies to Peace.

When the *Frier* had done his Declamation, which was much more like the Speech of a *Terræ-filius*, than of a Mediator, the *Commissioners* demanded a Copy of it, together with the Propositions he was ready

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to make, both which he delivered to them in Writing, and assured them, in the King's and the *Governors*, and which was more, in his own Name, that they should all be faithfully observed to them, if they were accepted by the *Junta*; which, having had the Propositions and Declamation sent to them, judged, that the Propositions having nothing new in them that was material, should have no Answer returned to them; but for the Declamation, they commanded the Bishop of *Zamora*, who was one of the Deputies, *To give it the Answer that it deserved, and so to dismiss the saucy Frier*; commanding him, *not to presume to come any more to Villabraxim, or to any other Place, which had declared it self for the Commons.*

The Deputies having ordered *Frier Antony* to appear before them, the Bishop of *Zamora* gave him the following Repri-
mand.

Frier Antony de Guevara,

THE Declamation you made here the other Day was long, silly and sawcy; for I must tell you, that you prated to us like a Boy that neither understood what he said, nor what he would be at. You must certainly either have taken the Habit of a Frier upon you when you were very young, or
you

you must be one of strong Passions, and a weak Judgment, or else you could never have imagined, that by such a Declamation, you should have been able to have persuaded us to accept of what you had to offer. I have been told, that you were one of a free and bold Tongue; and so long as you exercised that Faculty on the Nobles, you were reckoned to have some Judgment as well as Zeal. But tho' they bore with you when you lashed them as they deserved, there is not the same Reason that we should suffer you to rail at us as you did the other Day. And I must tell you, that it was happy for you, that none of our Captains were present when you did it; for if they had, they would certainly have made that sawcy and impudent Declamation your last: for which, tho' we should have been very sorry, we should not have known how to have helped it. However, since a Frier in his Cell may possibly not be sensible of what this poor Kingdom has suffered thro' the Covetousness and Tyranny of foreign Counsellors, we will judge charitably of your Intentions, tho' we cannot but condemn the Folly and Sawciness of your Words; and for the future, when you speak to Persons of Gravity and Authority, you must learn to observe the Rules of Decency and good Manners; and when you would persuade People to any thing, you must use soft Words, and not such as provoke

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and exasperate: Go therefore in God's Name, and do not you come among us any more; for if you do, you will be treated as a Spy: And for those you call the Governors, you may tell them, that though they may have Power to promise, it does not appear that they have Power to perform.

But though Frier *Antony* did not succeed in his publick Negotiation, yet, if he may be believed, he did in his private Negotiation with *Giron*, who he saith was engaged by him to betray the *Junta*; but as it is not probable that *Giron* did ever betray his Party, so if he did, it was by Persons of higher Quality, and better Conduct that he was persuaded to it, and particularly, the Admiral's Lady, who was his near Kinswoman; and who after Frier *Antony's* Negotiation was at an end, went several Times to *Tordesillas*, when *Giron* was there, to promote a Conjunction of the Nobles with the Commons, for whom and for their Cause, that Lady pretended to have an extraordinary Zeal.

But whoever it was that persuaded *Giron* to betray the Commons, if he ever did it, it is certain that the *Junta*, in order to remove the Governors farther from the Queen and their Head Quarters, did, by *Giron's* Advice, command their Army, which had been

been quartered about *Tordesillas*, to march, and make themselves Masters of *Villa Panda*, by which means they hoped to be able so to hinder Provisions from going to *Rioseco*, that the Governors would be forc'd to leave it. But *Villa Panda* was no sooner invested by their Army, than the Admiral was before the Gates of *Tordesillas* with a Body of three thousand disciplin'd Foot, and seven hundred Horse; and having in the King's Name summoned the *Junta* to surrender the Town to him; upon their having denied to do it, he assaulted it on all sides at once, in a few Hours carry'd it by Storm, but with the Loss of a great part of his Men; the People, but above all, the Priests and Friars having defended the Place until their Ammunition was all spent; neither would they, after that, capitulate, but defended their Walls to the very last, with Sword in Hand; the Admiral, tho' he carry'd the Place by Assault, gave Quarter, and most of the Procurators of the *Junta* having fallen into his Hands; he made them close Prisoners, giving the Plunder of the Town to his ill paid Soldiers.

When the Admiral first appeared before the Town, the Queen was desired by the *Junta* to go upon the Walls, and command him, upon Pain of high Treason, not to attack a Place where she was in Person, which she
not

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not only refused to do, but commanded them to go and open the Gates to him, saying, *The Nobles had never been Traitors to the Crown of Castile.*

When the News of this terrible Blow reached *Villa Panda*, the Army, which had made themselves Masters of that Place, without any Loss, was ready to have mutiny'd; and it was in every Body's Mouth, that they had been betray'd by *Giron*, and had been drawn by him from about *Tordesillas* on purpose to give the Admiral an Opportunity to surprize it; and *Giron* fearing that if he staid any longer with the Army, he might be torn in Pieces by the Soldiers, he stole out of *Villa Panda* by Night; and tho', when he was miss'd next Morning, every Body concluded that he was gone to the Admiral to receive the Reward of his Treachery, he never went near him, but fled directly to a remote *Castle*, where he lived privately till the Wars were ended; and tho' after that his Life was spared, he was banished, for the whole Term of it, into *Africk*: So that if he did betray his Party, abating the twelve extraordinary Privileges which Frier *Antony*, in a consolatory Letter to him, told him, were annexed to the Happiness of a Person of Quality, being banished his Native Country, he was but ill rewarded for that Service.

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The Procurators of the *Junta*, who had escaped falling into the Admiral's Hands, fled to *Valledolid*, from whence they dispatch'd a Courier to their Army, commanding 'em to come to it with all possible Expedition; the Army did so, having left a strong Garison in their dear bought *Villa Panda*, which, now the Governors had left *Rioseco*, and were removed to *Tordesillas*, was of little use to the Commons; and *Pardilla* fearing lest the Admiral might have followed his Blow, and have attacked *Valledolid*, threw himself into that City, with the Recruits he had raised at *Toledo*, to have formed a Flying Camp.

And seeing it would have required Time to have filled up the *Junta* with new Procurators, a select Number was presently chosen by the Heads of the Commons, to have the Supreme Government in all publick Affairs, with the Title of *a Council of State*. And as this new Council, finding the Queen in the Hands of the Nobles, never made use of her Name, but in Conjunction with her Son's, according to the Constitution of the *Cortes*; so from its very Birth it pretended to have an extraordinary Zeal for the King's Person, and the Support of his Royal Dignity; giving out, that if the King would but grant the Commons their just Demands, that they would make him the
greatest

greatest and richest Prince that ever wore the Crown of *Castile*, by a Resumption of all the Crown Lands, which were in the Possession of the Nobles; and so confident were the Commons that the Court would bite at this great Bait, that it was in every Body's Mouth, that yet before Harvest the Nobles would be all sent a begging, and that without being injured, seeing all their Estates had been given to their Ancestors by weak Princes, to whom they had been worthless Favourites, and not on account of any Services which had ever been done by them, either to the Crown, or to their Country: Insomuch, that the Commons now seem'd quite to have dropt their Quarrel with the Northern Ministers, to fall the heavier upon the Nobles; and after this, no Grievance was so much insisted on, as the whole Charge of the Government being thrown upon the Commons by the Nobles, having robb'd the Crown of all its ancient Lands and Revenues; and which intolerable Burden the Commons declared they would not bear any longer.

But to whatsoever this great and sudden Change in the Commons owed its Birth, whether only to the great Indignation they had conceived against the Nobles, for having taken the Queen out of their Hands; or to a Design of terrifying the Nobles into

a Conjunction with them; or to their having entertained some Hopes, that they might have gain'd the King and his Ministers by the Tender of so great a Donative, as that of all the alienated Crown-Lands and Revenues, or to the Persons whereof this new Council consisted, being better affected to Monarchy, than the leading Men in the *Junta*, who were strongly suspected of having had a Design to form *Castile* into a Commonwealth; certain it is, that after this new Council was erected, the Nobles having robb'd the Crown of all its Lands, was made the chief and standing Grievance of the Kingdom, and the publick Evil, of all others, the Commons seem'd to have set their Hearts the most on having remedy'd; this *Council* was likewise careful not to employ any, of whose Fidelity they were not well assured; and not judging it to be safe to trust a single Person any more with the chief Command of their Armies, they appointed the Bishop of *Zamora*, and *Don Gonzalo Gusman*, Nephew to the Comendador of *Calatrava*, and *James Gusman*, in one Commission, joint Generalissimo of all their Forces; but the Soldiers, who were for having *Padilla* and none else for their General, would all have mutiny'd upon this Commission, had not *Padilla* gone among them, and told them, *That the chief Command had been offer'd to him by the Council, and that he*
knowing

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knowing himself not to be qualify'd for so difficult a Post, through his want of Tears and Experience, had absolutely refused both to be sole Generalissimo, and to be one of the Three; to command the Forces of Toledo, which he had undertaken, being a Burthen heavy enough for his young Shoulders. And upon the Soldiers not being satisfy'd with that, Commands having been given from him upon his having been so modest as to refuse it; he told them plainly, That if they did not immediately approve of, and submit to what the Council had done, that he would leave the Army, and retire to his Country House, and not meddle any more with publick Business. The Soldiers perceiving by this that *Padilla* was in Earnest, promised to obey their new Generals in all things; and new Levies of Men having been ordered to be made in all the Provinces, the People listed themselves every where in much greater Numbers than they had ever done before; so that within a Month after the Loss of *Tordesillas*, the Commons were much stronger in the Field than ever they had been since the Beginning of the Troubles.

But there were two Things the Council imitated the *Junta* in, and which in the End were the Ruin of them both; the one was, the keeping in a manner only on the Defence, and so, though for above eighteen Months they

they had the whole Kingdom almost at their Devotion; yet neither of them did anything in a martial Way, that was considerable, towards the disabling of the Nobles to make Head against them: The other was, That the Council, notwithstanding its having begun so briskly with the Nobles, as to threaten them with a Resumption of all the Crown-lands, did afterwards, no less than the *Junta*, suffer it self to be amused with Treaty after Treaty, until a powerful Army was brought out of *Navar* to destroy them.

But in the mean while the Admiral perceiving that the Commons, by the great Blow he had given them, were become both stronger and more resolute than they were before; he endeavoured to have created a Jealousy in them of all the Nobles that were among them, by some Letters which he pretended to write to the King, but which he took care to have intercepted by the Council; in which Letters he acquainted the King with the Nobles, which were among the Commons, being grown so weary of serving them, that they were entred into a secret Treaty with him; and did all offer, if they might be assured of a Pardon, to leave the Commons at his Mercy; and having named all the Nobles that were among the Commons, he earnestly intreated the King, That they might all have their Pardons in

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as ample a Form as they could desire; assuring him that the *Commons*, so soon as they were deserted by those Nobles, would quickly moulder away, and come to nothing: But this Stratagem of the Admiral's was defeated by his having over acted in it: His having named *Padilla* and some others of the Nobles in those Letters, of whose Fidelity to them the *Commons* were too well assured, to entertain the least Suspicion of their being in any such secret Correspondence to their Prejudice, made the *Council* conclude, that it was nothing but a Trick of the Admiral's to have made them mistrust their best Friends; so that instead of being jealous of those Persons that were named in the Admiral's Letters, they confided the more in them for his having named them; concluding from thence, that they were in no Correspondence with him.

This Trick of the Admiral's having succeeded so ill, his next was to get the Pope's Nuncio to offer his Master's Mediation, and which that Minister, who was entirely in the Interest of the Court and the Nobles, was so forward to do, that he counterfeited a Letter from the Cardinal *de Medicis*, by whom the Papacy was governed at that time, commanding him to offer it: This Mediation having been first offer'd to the Governors, and to the Nobles, they readily accept-
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ed of it; and the *Council* of the Commons, tho' they were sensible, that the Nuncio in this Negotiation would be the Admiral's Spy or Agent, much rather than a Mediator; yet fearing lest it might bring them under a great Odium, should they refuse the Pope's Mediation, they accepted of it too, when it was offered to them; but at the same time, , did intend to observe the Nuncio narrowly, and if it were possible not suffer him to come within the Gates of *Valledolid*; and accordingly, having had word sent to them by the Nuncio, that he intended to be with them the next Day, they ordered the Deputies named by them for the Treaty, to go and meet the Nuncio, and conduct him to a Monastery of St. *Hierom*, that stood in the Suburbs.

But the Nuncio, when he was in the Monastery, having been told by the Deputies that that was the Place the *Council* had appointed to treat with him in, he answered them in a great Passion, that if he were not suffered to treat with the *Council* itself, and in the City, that he would immediately give over his Mediation; the distrusting the Sincerity of the Minister of the Common Father of *Christendom*, in a Mediation of Peace, as it was plain they did, being such an Affront as was never before put upon his Holiness by any that were called Catholicks;

which Answer having been sent to the Council, tho it increased their Suspicion of him, yet, dreading that they might offend the Pope, by thus distrusting his Nuncio, they ordered their Deputies to let him know, that Lodgings were provided for him in the City, and that they were ready to hear what he had to desire of them : The *Portugal* Ambassador, who was in Company with the Nuncio, offered his Master's Mediation likewise, but the Council knowing him to be a Tool of the Admiral's, put him off, by telling him, that they hoped, the Nuncio alone would be able to accommodate Matters: That Minister, however, kept close to the Nuncio, who having had an Audience of the Council in an Hour or two after he was in *Valledolid*, he desired them to let him have their lowest Terms they were content to come to an Agreement with the Nobles upon; which having been put into the Nuncio's Hands the next Day, he sent them by his Secretary to the Governors, who having perused them, desired that the Place of the Treaty might be an House, which stood in the midway, betwixt *Tordesillas* and *Valledolid*; and that the Deputies of the Commons might have full Power to treat, and conclude upon all Points, as their Deputies should have.

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But tho' the Council agreed to the Place nominated by the Nobles for the Treaty, they would not give their Deputies Power to conclude any thing before they were acquainted with it, and had approved of it, notwithstanding the Nuncio urged them strongly to have done it.

But the next Morning, as the Nuncio and the *Portugal* Ambassador were going out of the Gates with the Deputies of the Commons to the Place of the Treaty, the Guards having observed, that those Ministers had two laden Mules more in their Retinue than they had when they came, their whole Retinue was stopp'd, by an Order from the Council, and their Baggage having been narrowly search'd, there was a great Sum of Money found in it, and which, after a short Examination, was discovered to have been paid by a Banker in *Valledolid*, to a Servant of the Nuncio's, by the Admiral's Order; which Money, as was supposed, the Nuncio was to have employ'd in Bribes, to some of the chief of the Commons Deputies at the Place of the Treaty.

The Nuncio having returned in a great Storm to his Lodgings, sent his Secretary to the Council, to demand the Money that had been taken from him, and Satisfaction for the Affront that had been put

upon the common Father of Christendom, accusing them of having violated the Laws of all Nations, in what had been done to him by their Officers; and as he was told, by their Order, the Council bid the Secretary tell his Master, that they could justify what they had done, and that were it not for the great Veneration which they had for his Holiness, whose Minister he was, tho' unworthy of that Character, that they would have made him have known, that one that has taken upon him the Person of a Mediator, ought not to be employed as an Agent by either side; and as for the Money, they said, they knew it was none of his, but the Admiral's, and that they were resolved to keep it.

The Nuncio having received this Answer, left *Valledolid*, and when he came to *Tordesillas*, he told the Admiral in a Fury, that the Commons were Rebels, fit to be hanged, and not to be treated withal, and that there was no other way of reducing them to Obedience, but by pursuing them in all Places with Fire and Sword.

But the Admiral having something more in *Castile* to lose than the angry Nuncio, did not think fit to take his Counsel; only to gratify him a little, he writ a Letter, and sent it by a Trumpeter, to the Magistrates of *Valledolid*, commanding them, upon Pain of
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High Treason, to dissolve the Council that was in their City, and having done that, to lay down their Arms, and return to the Obedience of good Subjects:

To which Letter, the following Answer was returned by the same Trumpeter, by the Magistrates of that City,

THE Letter your Excellency sent us by this Trumpeter, contains two Heads. The First is a Command to return to the Obedience of their Catholick Majesties. And, The Second is a Threat, to pursue us as Rebels, if we do not presently comply with this your Command.

As to the first, as this noble City, and in Truth, all the Commons of Castile, have been always faithful to their Princes, so it was nothing but the great Affection and Zeal this City has for their Catholick Majesties, that induced them to join themselves to the rest of the Commons that are now in Arms, by whom nothing is desired that is not for their Catholick Majesties Interest, as well as for the Interest of the whole Kingdom, to both which great Interests, the Nobles are at this time, and have always been Enemies: For, who were they that apprehended King John, and made him a close Prisoner? were they not the Nobles? And by whom was that King set at Liberty, and restored to his Royal Dignity?

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ty? was it not by the Commons, and particularly, those of this City? And who were they that deprived King Henry, Son to that King John, of his Crown, and after an ignominious Manner gave it to his Brother? were they not the Nobles? and by whom were the Authors of all those Evils driven out of Abula, and that King restored? was it not the Commons? and by whom, but by the Nobles, were the Portuguese brought into this Kingdom, with an Intention of taking the Crown from Queen Isabella, and her Husband Don Ferdinand to give it to a Stranger? and by whom were the Portuguese driven out of this Kingdom, and the Crown secured, but by the Commons?

And who are they but the Nobles that have robb'd the Crown of its ancient Lands and Revenues? so that in the hundred Leagues which are betwixt this City and that of Compostella, the Crown has only three Towns, the rest being all in the Possession of the Nobles, by which means the Crown is forced to burden the Commons with new Taxes and Tributes, to support its Authority and Dignity; and for that Reason the Commons, before they will lay down their Arms, are resolved to have all the alienated Lands and publick Revenues restored to the Crown; the Nobles being so rich, and the Crown so poor, being visibly the great and standing Grievance of the
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Kingdom; and whereas the Commons, if their Catholick Majesties will but be pleased to grant them all their just Demands, will desire nothing farther of them; the Nobles when they shall bring in the Account of the Charges they have been at in this War, against their Country, the small Pittance of Lands that remain still to the Crown will not be found sufficient to satisfy them.

As to your threatening to pursue us as Rebels, with Fire and Sword, if we do not presently yield Obedience to your Command, it is not unlikely that you, and the Nobles that are with you, may begin such a War upon us; but if you do, as we know certainly that it will be offensive to God, and contrary to their Catholick Majesties Intentions, and pernicious to our common Country, so we are resolved to fight it out with you; and whereas we aim at nothing but the Support of their Majesties Authority, and the Security of the Laws and publick Liberties of the Kingdom, so we doubt not but through God's Assistance, in so just a Cause, that we shall be able not only to defend ourselves against all your Violences, but to destroy all the Forces you shall be able to bring into the Field against us.

We do nevertheless, out of the great Love we have for our common Country, and to prevent the Misery and Desolation it will be brought under by such a War, once more intreat you, and the Nobles that are with you,
to

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to join with the Commons, in supplicating his Majesty to redress all their great Grievances, which if you shall continue to refuse to do, we will come against you with the Armies of their Catholick Majesties, as against Traitors and Enemies to your Country.

It is plain from this last *Paragraph*, that the *Commons*, for all their talking so high of stripping the Nobles of all their Crown Lands, would have let them alone with those Lands, if they would but have joined with them to have procured the redressing of their other Grievances ; for it would otherwise have been a Madness in the *Commons* to have expected that of them.

The Council, by whose Directions this *Answer* was returned to the Admiral's Letter, to let him know how they resented his Carriage towards them, ordered part of their Army to go and sack *Turrelabaton*, a Castle that belonged to him ; with which Design, the Admiral having been acquainted, by the Spies he had among the *Commons*, he march'd with all the Troops he could draw together, to have covered it ; but not finding himself strong enough to face the Forces that came against it, he withdrew to some Mountains that were near, from whence he looked on, and saw his Castle plunder'd and burnt down to the Ground ; and as he was retreating to

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Tordesillas, the Commons sent him word, by one of his Servants, *That it should not be long before they would make that Place too hot for him.* Presently after they plundered and sacked *Ligalos*, a Castle of the *Conde Benaventum*, and bid his Servants go and tell their Lord, *That they who were Enemies to the Liberties of their Country, ought not to be suffered to have any Fortresses in it, to support their Tyrannies.*

Had the Commons handled the *Grandees* thus a Year sooner, they had certainly forc'd them to join with them; but it was now too late, the *Navar* Army being now ready to enter *Castile*: But to put a stop to their present furious Hostilities, till that Army came to put an end to them, the Bishop of *Laodicea*, and *Garcia Loiasa*, a famous *Dominican*, who were both very popular, were dispatched by the Admiral to *Valledolid*, to try if they could obtain a Cessation of Arms of the Council, and could set on foot a new Treaty.

But the Council, when it was vehemently solicited by those two popular Ecclesiasticks for a Cessation, and a new Treaty, told them plainly, *That they had been so often abused by such Shams, that they were resolved never to listen to any Proposition made to them by the Admiral*: Neither would they, had not *Padilla*, to whom they did not well know how

how to deny any thing; desired that there might be a Cessation only for a Week, that the Recruits of *Toledo*, which had begun to march, might get up to the Army, without being disturbed. Upon which short Cessation, a Treaty was likewise yielded to, at which the Admiral and Nobles offered such Terms to the Commons, that *Don Peter de Lasso, Padilla*, and most of the Commons Deputies were so far satisfy'd, as to endeavour to have promoted a Conjunction upon them.

But the Council, when those Propositions came to be reported to it, rejected them for two Reasons; the one was, That they fell short of redressing some of the Commons chief Grievances: And the other was, That they did not give the Commons a sufficient Security of the Fidelity of the Nobles, if they should join with them: And thus ended the last *Treaty* betwixt the *Nobles* and the *Commons*, their Differences being, after that, left to the Sword to decide.

And so the Council having had Intelligence, that the Prior of *St. John* had got a considerable Body of Men together about *Mota*, and was very active against them, they sent the Bishop of *Zamora* with a Force much superior to the Priors, to clear the Country of him; but the Prior, when the Bishop drew near him, finding that he was not strong enough to keep the Field, pretended

to be so great a Friend to the Commons and their Cause, that he offered to join his Troops to those of the Bishop's, to maintain it : And having by this Pretence obtained a Truce for two Days, he fell upon the Bishop the Night before the Expiration of that Term ; and having made a great Slaughter of his Men before they could stand to their Arms, the rest were all dispersed ; the Bishop himself having narrowly escaped being made a Prisoner.

The Prior endeavoured to excuse this Breach of Faith, by pretending that his Men had fallen upon the Bishop without his Order, and the Town of *Mota*, which had been the Prior's Head Quarters, having, in his Absence, declared for the Commons, shut its Gates against him, tho' he return'd to it victorious : and being resolv'd to defend itself against him to the last, as soon as the Prior began to fire upon them, they lodg'd all their Women, Children, and best Goods in the great Church, from whose Tower they annoyed the Prior very much with a Piece of Canon they had planted upon it : But a Barrel of Powder happening to take Fire in the Tower, shook the Church so, that its whole Roof fell in, and killed all that were under it : by which terrible Blow the besieged were so disheartned, that they immediately capitulated, and delivered the Town to the Prior.

The

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The People of *Burgos* being alarm'd with the News of a great and well disciplin'd Army, which had been drawn out of *Navar*, advancing towards them, they seized on the Constable; and having made him a Prisoner, they sent to the Council for Men, Artillery, and Ammunition, to defend their City, in case it should be attacked, as they had cause to fear it would very speedily: The Council knowing of how great Importance it was to their Affairs, not to suffer that City to come into the Hands of the Nobles, they immediately dispatched the Bishop of *Zamora* and *Padilla* with a great Body of Troops, and all other Necessaries, with Orders to fortify that City, and put a strong Garrison into it; and to assure the People, that if they were besieged, the whole Force of *Castile* should be sent to their Relief: But before those two Generals were got half way to *Burgos*, they had Intelligence of that City's having come to an Agreement with the Constable, and that they had received the King's Regidor, whom in the beginning of the Troubles they had chased from among them: upon this sudden Change *Zamora* and *Padilla* were ordered by the Council to go and help the *Conde de Salva Terra* to recover *Ampudia*, which had been taken from him by some Troops of *Biscainers*, upon that *Conde's* having declared himself on the side of the

Commons; which having been done by those two Generals with very little Loss, they returned to *Medina Campi*, where they refreshed their Troops, which were much fatigu'd by a long March through a mountainous Country, until the Recruits of the Cities of *Salamanca*, *Segovia*, and *Abula* came thither; which Recruits, notwithstanding all the Admiral's Endeavours to have intercepted them, they conveyed in Safety to *Valledolid*; to which Place, such large Recruits came at this time from all Parts of the Kingdom, that the Commons Army was now much greater than it had ever been before.

But as their Soldiers were all raw and undisciplin'd, so among all their General Officers, though they abounded with such, there was not one of any Experience in War; and among the *Subalterns* there were but few that knew much of it.

And though the Council could not but be sensible that such a Herd, though never so numerous, and personally never so stout, would not be able to stand before the *Veteran* Army that was coming against them from *Navar*, we do not read that they ever apply'd themselves to the *French*, though at that time in open War with the Crown of *Spain*, to have diverted that Army from coming into *Castile*, by cutting them out Work
at

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at home : And if it is strange that the Council did not make use of the *French* to divert an Army which was the only Force that could have destroyed them, it is more wonderful that the *French*, who have never suffered much by their being too slow, should not, without being solicited to it, have done the Commons of *Castile* so great a Piece of Service : For tho' it is true that the *French* over-run the Kingdom of *Navar* with the more ease, for their not having invaded it until after the Army was drawn out of it into *Castile* ; yet by having given that Army Leisure to subdue the Commons, and which they must needs know it would do with great Ease, they lost that Kingdom again in as short a time as they had conquer'd it ; upon that Army's having returned home victorious, and much stronger too by having been reinforced in *Castile* by the Admiral's Troops, which could not otherwise have been spared out of that Kingdom.

It was in this *Navar* War that *Ignatius Loyola*, the Founder of the *Jesuits*, was, to the great Unhappiness of the whole World, hurt at *Pampulona* with a Bullet ; that Hurt having been the Occasion of his giving over the Soldiers Trade, and of his having turned first an Enthusiast, and afterwards the Contriver of a Society that has done much more Mischief in the World than Bullets and

Gun-

Gunpowder, abating them this one thing of their having wounded *Loyola* and not killed him.

The *Navar* Army being come near to *Burgos*, the Constable forgetting all the Promises he had made to that City, concerning the redressing of several of the Commons chief Grievances, went and put himself at the Head of it; and having taken upon him the Title of one of the Governors of the Kingdom, he by Sound of Trumpet proclaimed all that were in Arms under the Name of the Communities of *Castile*, or that were any way assisting to them, Traytors; but at the same time offered them a general Pardon, if they would immediately lay down their Arms, and return home quietly to their Houses; and having put a good Garison into the Castle of *Burgos*, he marched towards *Tordesillas*, having sent to the Admiral to come and meet him with all his Forces, that being joined they might, if it was possible, bring the Commons to a Battle, before the *French*, who had enter'd *Navar* as soon as the *Spanish* Army was drawn out of it, had made themselves Masters of that Kingdom.

The Council, whose Wisdom it would certainly have been to have done all that was in their Power to have avoided being brought to a Battle, and which might have

been done, by having drawn their Army out of the Field, to garison their Cities and great Towns, few or none of which the *French* would have allowed the Governors Leisure to have besieged; neither were the Governors provided of a Train of Artillery, and other necessary Materials for such a Work: But instead of taking this safe Course in their present Circumstances, trusting, it is like, to their great Numbers, they commanded their whole Army to march, and encamp itself about *Turrelabaton*, with Orders to prevent the Conjunction of the two Royal Armies, and to fight either of them single, if they found it necessary to keep them from joining.

But the Constable, who before had marched directly towards *Turrelabaton*, having received Intelligence of the Commons whole Army being encamped about that Place, he altered his Course, and marching Day and Night, chopped betwixt *Valledolid* and *Turrelabaton*, so as to cut off all Communication betwixt their Council and their Army, where having been joyned by the Admiral, they immediately sent a Trumpet to *Valledolid*, commanding that City, upon Pain of Treason, to lay down their Arms, and to receive the Garison they were ready to send to them: with which Summons the Magistrates, and others that had any
 thing

thing to lose, were so terrify'd, that they were for sending the Keys of their Gates presently to the Governors, with an humble Petition for a General Pardon.

Neither would the Council have been able to have hindred them from doing it, had not a *Dominican*, and a *Trititarian* Frier run through the Streets, crying out, the City was betray'd, and would, if it were not speedily prevented, be put into the Hands of the Nobles, upon Discretion; with which Outcry the Populace having been raised, they, with their two Friars at their Head, ran in a great Fury to the Town-House, where having threatned to cut the Throat, and burn down the House of the first Man that talked of delivering up the City to the Nobles, they brought out the City Standard, and having set it up in the Field without the Gates, they commanded all that were able to bear Arms, upon Pain of Death, to repair to it immediately, to defend the City and the common Liberties of their Country, which were all at the Point of being lost.

But the Governors being sensible, that if the Commons Army were once routed, that *Valledolid* and all their other Places would fall into their Hands of course, never intended to lose time; which the *French* being victorious in *Navar*, made to be very pre-

cious to them in slow Sieges; and accordingly, the very next Day after their Armies were joined, they marched directly toward *Turrelabaton*, where the Commons Army still remained; and fearing lest when they heard of their Conjunction, and of their advancing towards them, that they might retreat to some Mountains which where near, they sent all their Horse, with a great Number of Trumpets before, with Orders, *If they found the Commons moving towards the Mountains, to fall upon their Rear, and keep them in play till the Foot came up: And*

It was so as the Governors had apprehended, the Commons Generals, so soon as they heard of the Conjunction of the two Royal Armies, having resolved to decamp, and intrench themselves among the Mountains, where, if the Governors should attempt to force them to a Battle, their Cavalry, in which their main Strength consisted, would be but of little use to them.

But as a great, but undisciplined, and ill officer'd Army, is a very unweildy Body for any regular Motion; so before the Commons had dislodged, News was brought by their Scouts, of the Governors whole Cavalry being come within a few Miles, and that they marched so fast, that they would quickly be up with them: The Commons raw Generals, who were at their

Wirs

Wits end, were so long in deliberating, whether, now that Night was coming on, it would be safest for them to keep their Ground, and wait for Day-light, or decamp immediately, and make their Retreat in the dark; that before they could come to any Resolution upon that Point, they were alarm'd with a mighty Noise of Trumpets, upon which, they commanded the Army to dislodge immediately, and with the greatest Silence possible to retreat towards the Mountains.

But so strangely were the raw Soldiers terrify'd by the Darkness of the Night, and the great Noise of Trumpets, which still drew nearer and nearer, that they no sooner began to move, than their Horse and Foot were all through one another, and their Ranks being all broke, instead of retreating orderly, they fled towards the Mountains in the greatest Confusion imaginable.

So that the Royal Cavalry, when they came up, meeting with no manner of Opposition, trotted through them in the dark, without losing, or killing one single Man, unless it were some that they rode over; and before it was light, they had put themselves betwixt the foremost of the Foot and the Mountains. And tho' after it was Day the Commons Officers did all

that was possible to have brought both their Horse, which were got among the Mountains, and their Foot into a Body, telling them, that if they would but fall upon the Royal Cavalry, which was so tired with their long March, that their Horses were scarce able to stand, or their Riders to sit them, that they might with great ease cut them all to pieces; yet so great was the Consternation they were in, that there was no persuading either the Horse to face about, or the Foot to draw into a Body to Fight their way to them: So the Officers perceiving that it was in vain to strive any longer, shifted every Man for himself as secretly as he could, endeavouring by By-ways to have got into *Navar*, of which Kingdom they had heard the *French* had made themselves Masters.

The Foot having laid down their Arms, cry'd out for Quarter, which was not only granted to them, and to all the *Subalterns* by the Governors, who having left their Foot behind them, were at *Turrelabaton* very early in the Morning; but they were all commanded to leave the Field immediately, and run home to their Houses before the Governors Infantry came up, which wou'd not easily have been kept from stripping them.

But

But tho' the private Centinels and Subalterns were treated so mercifully by the Governors, the General Officers, who were taken by some fresh Horse which were sent in pursuit of them, escaped not so well: *Don John de Padilla*, and *Don John Bravo*, and *Don Francis Maldonada* having been taken Prisoners, were all three beheaded the next Day after the Rout; *Don Peter Maldonada* was likewise sentenced to die; but having been reprieved, at the Intercession of his Uncle, the Conde of *Beneventum*, he and the Bishop of *Zamora* were committed close Prisoners to the Castle of *Zimanchas*.

The News of this cheap and compleat Victory brought the Keys of *Valledolid*, and of all the other Associated Cities and Towns, except *Toledo*, to the Governors, with humble Petitions for a general Pardon; and so strangely intimidated were the Commons in all Places by this single Blow, that notwithstanding the Army they had been dispersed by, and all the other standing Forces of the Kingdom march'd forthwith against the *French*, who having over-run *Navar* like a Torrent, were ready to enter *Castile*, and tho' there did not want those who did all that was possible in all Places to have persuaded them to take up their Arms again, and not to lose so fair an Opportunity,

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portunity, to recover their lost Credit, and dying Liberties; they were not to be moved any where to do it. So that never did any Cause which was espoused by the whole Body of a People, and which had been allowed Time to put it self under some Government, fall so flat all at once as this of the Commons of *Castile*; no Place besides *Toledo* having made the least Effort to renew the War, after they had once heard of their Army's being dispersed.

And as to *Toledo*, it was kept from submitting by the Clergy, but chiefly by *Pardilla's* Widow, who having the Populace at her Devotion, called on them incessantly, not to lay down their Arms, until they had secured the Liberties they had taken upon them to defend; and until they had taken Vengeance too on those Butchers, meaning the Governors, who had cut the Throats of their best Patriots; and having sent a Courier to the *French* General, to solicit him, *Now he had conquer'd Navar, to march into Castile with all possible Expedition, to give Life to the Commons again.* Upon a Promise from that General, that he would do so; she sent Letters all over *Castile*, to exhort the Commons, *To take up their Arms which they had so dishonourably laid down; telling them, That if they did not make use of this favourable Juncture, they must to their eternal Infa-*

my entail Slavery upon themselves and their Posterity, since they could never expect to have the like Opportunity again, of preserving themselves a free People.

There not being Strength enough left in Castile, to reduce Toledo by Force, the Governors employed the *Marquiss of Vileña*, who had a great Interest in the *Sylvas*, a numerous Family in that City, to try if he could persuade it to submit; but that Negotiation having taken Air, the *Sylvas* were all turned out of the City; as was *Don John de Cardenas* also, upon Suspicion of his being in a Correspondence with the Governors. *Padilla's* Widow was vehemently solicited too by her Brother the *Marquiss de Mondejar*, either to persuade Toledo to submit, or to leave it, promising her a great Reward from the Governors, if she would do either; but all the Answer he could have from her, was, That as she did not care to outlive the Liberties of her Country, so, had she a thousand Lives, she would lose them all, rather than receive any Favour from those Traitors to their Country, who had butchered the brave *Padilla*, for no other Reason but for his having stood up for its Liberties.

But whilst this Hero of a Woman was thus labouring to have raised a new War, the News came of *William de Croy*, the young *Flemish Archbishop* of Toledo being dead

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dead in *Flanders*, and of *Don Antony de Fonseca*, *Archbishop* of *Compostella*, who was a *Castilian*, being named by the King to succeed him: And whereas that young *Flemish Archbishop* had been all along the Clergy's chief Grievance, as soon as they knew of his being taken away, they did not only desert *Padilla's* Widow, but conspired with her Enemies to have turn'd her out of *Toledo*; and when they found that was not to be done whilst the People were so much at her Devotion, to ruin her Credit with them, the Clergy confidently gave out, *That she was a Witch, and that the Negro Maid she kept was no Woman, but an Imp of Hell, that furnish'd her with Charms to fascinate People into a Veneration for her*: And to satisfy all her Adorers, that they were bewitched by her, they affirmed, *That by vertue of some very strong Exorcisms, they had forc'd the Devil to confess as much out of the Mouths of several of her chief Admirers.*

But so resolute was this Lady, who had no other Charms but those kind Nature had bestow'd on her, that though she found her Credit ruined, by this Report, with the Populace, who began now to look upon her as no other than a Devil, yet no Promises nor Threats were sufficient to oblige her, either to leave *Toledo*, or to endeavour to persuade that City to submit to the Governors: And

when

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when her House was assaulted by the Bishop of *Leon* at the Head of a Multitude whom he had disenchanting with Exorcisms, she, with her own Servants, and some of the Ringleaders of the first Tumults, defended it against him for some Hours; and when at last she found there was no Remedy, but that she must either capitulate, (which that Bishop offered several times to do) or must be made a Prisoner, she stole by Night out of the Back-Gate of her House, in a Disguise, with her Sister, the Countess of *Montecute*; and having escaped out of the City, she fled to *Portugal*, where she was kindly entertained by the Noble Family of the *Pacheico's*, which was her own Maiden Name, and to which she was nearly related in Blood; neither did she ever return to *Castile*, or make any Application to the Emperor, or to any of his Ministers, for a Pardon.

The Day after *Padilla's* Widow left *Toledo*, which was the 10th of *February*, of the Year 1522, that City sent *Deputies* to the *Governors* with its Submission, and with a most humble Supplication to them for a *General Pardon* for themselves, and for all others who had been any ways engaged in the late Troubles: And thus ended the War of the *Commons of Castile*, which began in the Month of *April*, of the Year 1520. Neither did the War of the *Commons of Valentia* last much longer;

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longer; which having been all along carried on with much greater Fury and Devastations than that of *Castile*, ended in a great Slaughter of the *Commons* in a Field Battle.

I have no where met with the Particulars of that War, and though it was on foot at the same time with this of *Castile*, I do not find that there was ever any Correspondence or Communication of Councils betwixt the *Commons* of those two Kingdoms, either before or after they took up Arms.

The *September* following the Emperor returned to *Spain*, where he was the more welcome for having lost *Chevers*, who died in *Germany*, and as it was said, *Of pure Passion, upon his Master's having enter'd into a strict Alliance with the Pope against the French, without having made him privy to it.*

It was generally expected that the Emperor, to quiet the Minds of the *Castilians*, and to reconcile them to his Person and Government, would, presently after he came among them, have granted them a *General Indemnity*; but he was so far from doing that, that the first Thing he order'd, was, *The beheading of the Bishop of Zamora, and of Don Peter Maldonada, at Simanchas; and of seven of the principal Procurators of the Junta, at Medina Campi; and when an Indemnity came to be*

granted,

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granted, it was so clogg'd with Exceptions, that it gave but little Satisfaction to the *Castilians*; two hundred and seventy Persons being excepted in it from Pardon, by Name, among whom were *Padilla's Widow*, *Don Peter Giron*, *Don Peter de Lasso*, the *Conde de Salvaterra*, and a great many of the *Cadets* of the best Families in *Castile*.

The *Emperor* having returned from *Germany* very poor, and much in Debt, he assembled a *Cortes* at *Valledolid*; and though the *Procurators* of that Assembly were all *Courtiers*, and most of them had been ill treated too by the *Commons*, when they were in Arms, yet they had both too much Sense, and too much Honesty, to sacrifice the Liberties of their Country, either to their own private Interests, or to their Resentments; which, upon such an Occasion, a weaker and less steady People than the *Castilians* are, would have been in Danger of having done; for at the opening of this *Cortes*, the following wise and honest Speech was made to the *Emperor*, by *Dr. John Rodrigo Piza*, the *Prolocutor* of the *Commons*.

The

The Prolocutor's SPEECH.

Most Sacred Emperor, and our *Catholick* King,

WE the Procurators of these Kingdoms do humbly supplicate your Majesty, to do the Kingdoms we represent the Justice, as to believe that they do not yield in Loyalty and Fidelity to their Princes, to any of your other Dominions.

And as there is not one Procurator in this Cortes, that is not either of your Majesty's Household, or in some Office or other of your giving, and that was not a Sufferer too for your Crown in the late Seditions; so they do all with Hearts full of Loyalty, and with much Affection for your Royal Person and Government, beseech you to be informed by this your Great Council, of the true State of the Affairs of Castile, with which the Senators, which are still about your Majesty, may not be so thoroughly acquainted. And though this Cortes cannot but lament the great Mischiefs of the late Seditions, yet I must take the Liberty to tell your Majesty, That if you will but be pleased to consider what it was that gave Birth to those Seditions, you will not be able to wonder at them: For is it any Wonder that the demanding of a Tribute so impetuously as that at the Groin was demanded; and that the having deny'd, at the Instigation of some who preferr'd their own private Interests

to those of the Publick, to give Ear to the Commissioners which offered sound Counsel, should beget great Disturbances ; and which would never have been, had the People, according to Custom, been heard, and their Grievances redress'd ? For had a Cortes been call'd to consult about the Publick Good, and not to give Money only, which was the Case of that at the Groin, they would not only have given your Majesty the Money you desired, but a great deal more, if you had Occasion for it : But those things being past, I shall say no more of them, but will speak to what is present. Your Majesty was pleased in your Letters for our assembling, first to promise, To consult us about what will be for the Advantage of these Kingdoms ; and after that, to demand some Money of us for the Support of your Government ; which Order, for being agreeable to the ancient Custom, was very welcome to all your Majesty's good Subjects, whose Grievances shall be first laid before your Majesty, and which we do most humbly supplicate to have redressed ; neither ought it to be any Prejudice to this Course, that of late Years it has been the Custom, for Cortes's first to give Money, and after that to deliberate about the Publick Affairs, so long as the other is both more ancient, and more reasonable.

We do therefore throw ourselves at your Majesty's Feet, humbly supplicating, that the Grievances of the Subjects may be first considered

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ed and redress'd, that so we may afterwards with the more Freedom do every thing that will any ways contribute to your Majesty's Grandeur and Happiness, which we shall always study to augment.

The Emperor, who was not at all pleased with this free Speech of the *Prolocutor's*, told the *Cortes* upon it, That tho' no Prince could be better disposed than he was, to make all his Subjects easy, yet he could not give way to the altering of a Custom introduced by so good Policy, as that had been, of a *Cortes* first dispatching what was demanded of them, by the Crown: Because, if the giving of Money were postponed to the remedying of Grievances, the redressing of them would no longer be looked on as an Act of Grace in the Prince, but would be reckoned to have been purchased with Money; and which otherwise would not have been given: Besides should it be known at the Great Turk's, and some other Courts, that his Subjects had prescribed new Laws to him, his Figure and Authority would be much lessened by it: He desired them therefore, Not to lose Time in needless Debates, but to go immediately upon the Supply which he had demanded of them, and after that was finished, he promised, that they should have no cause to complain of him, for having deny'd any thing that is reasonable to the good People of Castile.

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But the *Cortes*, notwithstanding this Promise, being still jealous, that if the Money were once given, they might be sent home with their Grievances unredress'd, did in a Body humbly supplicate the King, That the Grievances of the Kingdom might be first taken into Consideration, giving him all possible Assurances, of supplying him with the Sum he had desired, after they were all once remedy'd: But having been told by the King, *That it was in vain for them to struggle with him for a thing which he was resolved never to grant*, they gave it over, and presently voted the Sum that had been desired; which was, forty hundred thousand *Ducats*, to be paid in three Years. After that the following *Bills* having been agreed to by the whole *Cortes*, were presented to the King, to have his Royal Assent to them.

- I. *That no Benefice or Office, Ecclesiastical or Civil, shall be conferred on any Foreigner.*
- II. *That the King's Guards shall all be Castilians.*
- III. *That the Judges in the Country shall not be paid out of the Fines of Persons that have been sentenced by them.*
- IV. *That no Money shall be given, or promised to any Person whatsoever, out of the Penalties of Delinquents, before they are convicted.*

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- V. *That no Money shall be given away, before it has been paid into the Exchequer.*
- VI. *That no Monk or any other Ecclesiastical Person shall be capable of buying any Lands now in the Possession of Laicks, and in case any such Land should fall to them by Inheritance, they shall sell it to the Laity.*
- VII. *That it shall not be lawful to sell any Grain standing in the Field.*
- VIII. *That no Man shall be hindred from wearing a Sword.*
- IX. *That no Masquerades shall be tolerated.*

The King is said to have given his Royal Assent to some of these *Bills*; but to which of them we are not told.

The *Clergy*, who three Years before refused to pay the Tenth of their Benefices to the King, were now glad to compound for their Fourths, which were given to him by *Pope Adrian*, their late Governor, who had been chosen *Pope* whilst he was in *Castile*.

But the *Italians*, when *Adrian* came among them, finding him too honest a Man to make a good *Pope*, dispatched him quickly into the next World; neither have they ever since thought it safe to trust a *Tramontan*, or any other, that was not by Birth, Education and Conscience an *Italian*, with the Reins of the Papal Empire.

A VIEW

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V I E W

O F

Two Castilian C O R T E S.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

HAVING, in the foregoing History, so often had Occasion to mention the Castilian Cortes, I should have been glad here to have gratify'd the Curious with a History of the Origen, Progress, Authority, Customs, &c. of that August Assembly; of whose great Name the modern Spanish Cortes is a Shadow only: But having never seen nor heard of any Book upon that Subject, which is very strange, considering that no Nation in the World is so unmercifully oppress'd, as Spain, with voluminous Histories of particular, and many times very little, Persons and Places; instead of such a desirable History, I can only present the Reader with a short Account of two of those Assemblies, and which are not very ancient: The first having met in the Year 1390.; and

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the Second in the Year 1406. They were both called by Don Henry II. King of Castile; in whose Life written in Spanish by Gill Goncallez D' Avila, Historiographer to King Phil. IV. I met with the following Accounts; and which, tho' short and imperfect, yet are sufficient to satisfy any Person, of the ancient Spanish Cortes having been the same with the English Parliament, and with the Assembly of the States in France: The Northern Nations, which pull'd down the Roman Empire, having all had the same Form of Government, which was a mixt Monarchy, as well after, as before their Crowns became hereditary; which the Gothick Spanish Crown was not for some hundreds of Years after the Goths had settled themselves in Spain; the Authority of the Government in all those Nations being lodged so, in the King, and the Estates, that no Laws could be made, repealed, or suspended, nor no Money raised upon the Subject, but with their common Consent.

Which happy Constitution of Government is now no where to be met with, where the Crown is hereditary, but only in England and Scotland: And may it for ever continue in them, to be an impregnable Bulwark against Anarchy and Tyranny, the two great Plagues of Mankind.

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C O R T E S

Assembled at *MADRID* in the
Year 1390.

THE People of *Castile* being extremely dissatisfy'd with the Persons named by King *John I.* in his Will, to be their Governors, during his Son King *Henry II.*'s Minority; the young King, by the Advice of his Council, did on the 22d of *October*, in the Year 1390, call a *Cortes* to meet at *Madrid*, on the 15th of *November*, to settle the Regency, as they should judge to be most convenient for his, and his Kingdom's Honour and Safety.

The Persons named by the deceased King to be Governors, were *Don Alonso Marquis de Viena*, Constable of *Castile*, *Don Peter* Archbishop of *Toledo*, *Don John* Archbishop of *Compostella*, *Don Peter Nunnes* Master of *Calatrava*, *Don John Alphonso* Conde of *Niebla*, and *Don Peter Gonzales* Steward of the Household.

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The

*The W R I T sent by the King
to the City of Abula.*

Don Henry, by the Grace of God King of Castile, Leon, Toledo, Galicia, Sevil, Corduba, Murcia, Jaen, Algarve, and Algeziva; and Lord of Biscay, Molina, Conceio, &c.

To the City of Abula Health and Grace, as to those in whom we do much confide;

H*AVING in my former Letters acquainted you with the Death of the King my Father and Lord, whom may God pardon: This is to let you know, that by the Advice of the Persons who were Counsellors to my Father, whom may God admit into his holy Paradise, I have determin'd to call together all the Prelates, Masters, Condes, and Ricoshomes, and all the other Nobles, and all the Procurators of the Cities and Towns of these my Kingdoms and Lordships, to treat about the Regency, and about whatsoever else shall be for my Service, and the Honour and Safety of my Kingdoms.*

And having to that End summoned all the said Prelates, Dukes, Masters, Condes, Ricoshomes, and all the Procurators; you having a Right to sit and vote in a Cortes, must so soon as this my Writ comes to your Hands, choose from among yourselves two
good

Assembled at Madrid. 321

good and sufficient Procurators, to act for
God's and my Service, and for the common
Good of the said Kingdoms ; and with this
we command you to comply so, that your
Procurators may without fail meet me
at Madrid on the 15th of November
next.

Given at Madrid the
22d of October, in
the Year of our Sa-
viour Jesus Christ,
1390.

I, The KING.

I *Peter Alfonso* caused this to be written
at the Command of our Lord the
King.

NOTES on this WRIT.

[*DUKES.*] Though this was an antient
Title in *Spain*, it was never hereditary
in any Family, before the present King's
Father made it so, after the Example of
France; who created his Brother, and
who was present at this *Cortes*, Duke of
Bonaventum.

[*MARQUIS.*] This was no hereditary
Title in *Spain* neither, before the time of
X 4 the

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the present King's Grandfather, who made *Don Alonso*, a Son of *Don Peter's* King of *Aragon*, Marquis of *Villena*.

[*MASTERS.*] These were the Heads of the three Military Orders, of *St. James*, *Alcantara*, and *Calatrava*; which three rich and powerful Masterhips are now lodged in the King, who sets Presidents over them, with the Title of Commendador Major.

[*CONDES.*] This was for many Ages the highest hereditary Title in *Spain*, until the present King's Father and Grandfather, to lessen the great Power of the *Condes*, created Dukes and Marquises above them; and that the *Condes* might be the less sensible of their being Sufferers by this Change, the first Dukes and Marquises were all *Infante's*, or *Princes of the Blood*, and who, before they had those new Titles, were superior to the *Condes*.

[*RICOSHOMES.*] This was the common Title of the Barons of *Spain*; it is the Compound of a *Gothick* and *Latin* Word; whereas *Manrique*, the Name of a Noble *Spanish* Family, and that signifies the

the same, is wholly *Gothick*; this Title is agreeable to the Description of *Nobilities*, being nothing else but *Riches long possessed in a Family*.

The *Richeshomes* were of two Sorts, the first, and most honourable, were those that were such by Prescription, and were reckoned to be of the same Antiquity with the Monarchy, if not older; the *Castilians*, having at first been under the Government of a *Conde*, and afterwards under that of two Magistrates, who were called the *Judges of Castile*. The second were those that were made *Ricoshomes* by a Patent from the King.

One was created a *Ricoshome* by the King's giving him Lands, with Royalties, and Vassals; and the Ceremony used at their Creation was, the King gave them a *Standard*, and a *Caldron*, signifying by the *Standard*, that when there was Occasion, they might arm their Vassals, and oblige them to follow their Standard in the Field; and by the *Caldron*, that they were bound to maintain their Vassals, when they fought for them.

From among yourselves.] The Procurators of the Cities and Towns in a *Cortes* were anciently Members of their own Body;

dy; and lived in, or near the Place they represented: The Cities and Towns of *Castile* had always chose all their own Magistrates, until they were deprived of that Privilege by this present King, who set a Magistrate over them, with the Title of *Corregidor*; this great Innovation cost much Blood in several Places, above a thousand having been kill'd in *Sevil*, before that City could be brought to submit to it: All which Blood was spilt to little Purpose, the Cities and Towns having in the next Reign recover'd their ancient Privilege, tho' they have since lost it, with all their other Liberties.

A LIST of the Procurators that were present at this CORTES.

For the City of *Burgos*.

Peter Fernandez de Villegas.

John de San Joan,
Garci Radz.

John Alonso de Castro Duarco.

Martin Goncallez de Cencerra.

Sancho Garcia de Media.

Garci Perez de Camargo.

John Lopez de San Solez, 8.

For the City of *Toledo*.

Peter Lopez de Ayala.

Perafon de Ribera.

John Gaitan.

John Alphonso de Zurita.

Martin

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Martin Goncalez
Traperos, 5.

Fernan Arias.
Peter Sanchez, 3.

For the City of
Leon.

Pero Nunnes de Vil-
lafana.

Fernand Alvarez de
Leon.

Goncalo Fernandez.
John Ruiz.

Alonso Fernandez, 5.

For the City of *Sevil.*

Fernan Goncalez.

Diego Fernandez.

Garci Perez de Mo-
ralez, 3.

For *Corduba.*

Lope Guitierrez.

Peter Vanegas.

Alonso Yannez, 3.

For *Murcia.*

John Sanches de Ay-
ala.

Sancho Rodriguez, 2.

For *Jaen.*

John Pelais.

For *Abula.*

Alfonso Goncalez.

Sancho Sanchez, 2.

For *Salamanca.*

Rui Goncalez.

John Sanchez.

Rui Fernandez.

Rodrigo Yannez

El Dr. Antony San-
chez.

Alfonso Godinez.

Andrew Dominguez.

Julian Gomez, 8.

For *Zamora.*

Fernan Rodrigues Es-
paregas.

Ordonno Ruiz.

Perivan de la Rua.

Gomez de Torrez, 4.

For *Segovia.*

Garci Alfonso de
vacana.

Fernan Sanchez de
Virres, 2.

For

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For Soria.
Garci Alvarez de Vera.
Fernan Sanchez.
John de Morales.
Fernan Sanches de Talavera, 4.

John Nunnes.
Fernand Gomez.
Alfonso Ruiz, 4.

For Calaborra.
Diego Ximenes Arnedo.
Gonzalez Falcon, 2.

For Valledolid.
John Manso.
Gonzalo Nunnes.
Gonzalo Gomez.
Rui Sanchez, 4.

For Oveido.
John Estrevanes, 1.

For Placentia.
Garci Goncalos Mariscal.
Diego Gomez de Almarez, 2.

For Xerez.
Lucas Fernandes de Locano.
Peter Garcia de Miseria, 2.

For Baeza.
Fernan Ruiz Narvar.
Lewis Gonzalez.
John Garcia, 3.

For Astorga.
Diego Alvarez, 1.

For Ubeda.
Michael Ruiz.
Gil Sanchez, 2.

For Rodrigo.
Sancho Gomez de Ferrera, 1.

For Toro.
Diego Garcia.

For Badajoz.
Gonzalo Sanchez, 1.

For Coria.
Rodrigo de San Millan.

John

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John Alfonso Pany
Agua, 2.

For *Guadalaxara.*

John Ortega.

Gorci Lopez, 2.

For *Corunna.*

Goncalo Annes Fer-
reiro. 1.

For *Madina del Cam-*
po.

Goncalo Ruiz.

John de San Pedro, 2.

For *Cuenca.*

Nunno Gonzalez de
Torre.

John Rodriguez de
Navaltan.

John Sanchez, 3.

For *Carmona.*

John Martinez de
Lea.

Gonzalez Marti-
nez, 2.

For *Ezija.*

Alfonso Terriandez.

Peter Diaz, 2.

For *Vitoria.*

Peter Gonzalez.

Peter Garcia, the Son
of Michael Gar-
cia, 2.

For *Logronno.*

Goncalo Garcia, 1.

For *Fruixillo.*

Fernan Alfonso.

Rui Gutierrez, 2.

For *Carceres.*

Lorenzo Tannes.

Garcia Martinez, 2.

For *Cadix.*

Sancho Garcia.

Fernan Gonzalez, 2.

For *Xeriz.*

Goncalo Ruiz.

Alonso Sanchez.

John Fernandez de
Sandoval.

John Garcia, 4.

For *Bejar.*

Gill Fernandez.

Diego

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Diego Sanchez, 1. John Sanchez, 2.

<i>For Villa Real.</i>	<i>For Atienca.</i>
<i>Bartholomeu Marti-</i>	<i>Peter Alvares.</i>
<i>nez.</i>	<i>Goncalo Sanchez.</i>
<i>Goncalo Gomez.</i>	<i>Alvar Nunnez, 3.</i>
<i>Alfonso Sanchez, 3.</i>	

<i>For Cuellar.</i>	<i>For Madrid.</i>
<i>Velasco Perez.</i>	<i>John Sondeval.</i>
<i>Diego Garcia.</i>	<i>John Garcia, 2.</i>
<i>Alfonso Garcia, 3.</i>	<i>For Alcaraz.</i>

<i>For Tariff.</i>	<i>Alonso Lope.</i>
<i>John Raimeres de</i>	<i>Rui Goncalvez, 2.</i>
<i>Allenmar, 1.</i>	<i>For St. Sebastian.</i>

<i>For Huete.</i>	<i>Pelegrin Gomez.</i>
<i>Peter Fernandez Ba-</i>	<i>John de Heneras, 2.</i>
<i>rajas.</i>	

<i>Alfonso Rodriguez, 2.</i>	<i>For Sahagun.</i>
	<i>Garcia Alfonso.</i>
	<i>Fernan Goncales, 2.</i>

<i>For Anduiar.</i>	<i>For Fuente Rubia.</i>
<i>Alfonso Goncalvez de</i>	<i>Stephen de Aluda, 1.</i>
<i>Priego.</i>	

These are the *Procurators* that were present in this *Cortes*, but whether they be all that belong to that Assembly, I cannot say, having never seen any other List of them but this.

the

The *Cortes* having met at *Madrid*, on the Day appointed, it was opened with a Speech, made by the Archbishop of *Toledo*, who exhorted them to settle the Regency so, that the Kingdoms might not suffer under this, as they had done under some former Minorities.

But tho' the *Cortes* began with the Regency, they would not settle it, nor do any other Business, until the *Coin of the Kingdoms*, which had been rais'd by the King's Grandfather, to the great Damage of the Subjects, as it always is, was brought down to its ancient Standard and Value; which having been done by a Law, on *January 21*, on the last Day of the same Month the whole *Cortes* assembled in the Church of *St. Salvador*, and did by a solemn Act declare; *That the Regency, during the King's Minority, should be in a Council, which they had named, and that the King, at Sixteen Years, should be of Age:* Obliging all the Persons nam'd by them to be of that Council, before they acted, to take an Oath to observe the following Ordinances.

- I. *Not to increase the Standing Forces of the Kingdoms, above four thousand Soldiers in Garisons, and fifteen hundred Ginets.*

That

- II. *That they shall not begin any War without the Consent of the Cortes.*
- III. *That they shall not raise any Money upon the Subject, that has not been given by a Cortes.*
- IV. *That they shall not banish, nor put any to Death, before they have been tryed and condemn'd by their proper Judges.*
- V. *That they shall not pardon Murder.*
- VI. *That they shall preserve all the present Alliances, and enter into no new ones, without the Consent of the Cortes.*

The Persons named, and appointed by the Cortes, to be of this Council, were, *Don Fadrique*, Duke of *Bonaventum*, *Don Pedro*, Conde de *Trastamara*, *Don Peter*, Archbishop of *Toledo*, *Don John*, Archbishop of *Santiago*, *Don Goncalo Nunnes*, Master of *Calatrava*, *Peter Lopez d' Ayala*, Alchald of the City of *Toledo*, *Alvar Perez Ossorio*, *Rui Ponce de Leon*, *Peter Suarez*, *Aldelan-tadi* of *Leon* and *Asturias*, *Garci Goncales* Mariscall.

For the Kingdom of *Castile*, *Garci Ruiz*,
Sancho Garcia de Medina, and *Ruy Sanchez*.

For the Kingdom of *Toledo*, *Perafan de Ribera*, and *John Gaiton*.

For the Kingdom of *Leon*, *Alfonso Fernandez*, and *Rodrigo de Esparriegos*, and
John Alvarez Maldonada.

For the Kingdom of *Andulasia*, *Fernan Goncales*, and *Lope Rodriquez*.

For the Kingdom of *Murcia* and *Jaen*,
John Sanchez de Ayala, and *John Pelais de Burcio*.

For *Estramadura*, *Fernan Sanchez de Ver-
vis*, and *Alfonso Goncalez*.

This Council consisted of Ten Nobles,
and Fourteen Commoners, who were Pro-
curators in this *Cortes*. And to make this
Charge the easier, one half of each were
ordered, until the King was of Age, to
attend on him one fix Months in the
Year, and the other half, the other fix
Months.

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The Regency being thus settled, the King came to the *Cortes*, and having thank'd them for their Care and good Affection, he took the following Oath.

I do promise and swear to maintain, and to cause to be maintained, to all the Nobles, Prelates, Churches, and Masters of the Orders, and to all Cities, Towns, and Villages, all the same Privileges, Grants, Franchises, Exemptions, good Usages and Customs, which they enjoy'd in the Reigns of the King my Grandfather, and of the King my Father and in the same Manner.

A VIEW

A

V I E W

O F A

C O R T E S

Assembled by the same King at
TOLEDO, in the Year 1406.

K I N G *Hen. II.* intending to have a War with the *Moorish King of Granada*, who, he said, had broke the Truce that was made betwixt them, in several Particulars, would not begin it until he had advised about it with a *Cortes*; and having to that End called a *Cortes*, to meet at *Toledo* on the 29th of *November*, in the Year 1406. it was opened when it met by the following Speech, made by the Infante, *Don Fernando*, the King's Brother; the King, tho' then at *Toledo*, being so much indisposed, that he was not able to be present at it in Person.

TOU

Y 2

YOU the Prelates, Condes, Ricoshomes, Procurators, Knights, and Esquires, need not be told that my Lord the King is hindred by Sickness from coming to you in Person, as he intended; He has therefore commanded me to acquaint you with the Reason of His having called you together at this Time, which is to let you know, that upon the King of Granada's having broke the Truce, by having deny'd to restore the Castle of Ayamonte, and to pay the Tribute that is due, he intends to begin a War upon that Barbarian; you are therefore desired to take this Matter into your Consideration, and if you shall judge this War to be just, and for God's, His Majesty's, and his Kingdom's Honour and Service, to consult what Provisions and Forces will be necessary to carry it on with Vigour, and to supply his Majesty with Money sufficient to defray all its Charges.

To this Speech of the Infante's, the following Answer was return'd, in the Name of the whole Cortes, by the Bishop of Siguenca.

Most Illustrious Lord,

THE Prelates, Condes, Ricoshomes, Procurators, Knights, and Esquires, here assembled, having heard what your Highness has acquainted them with in the King's Name,

by the same King at Toledo. 335

Name, with very great Satisfaction do all supplicate your Highness, as you are Lord of Lara, and the Judge of all the Nobles, to let them, according to ancient Custom, first have your Opinion of this War, that having your Judgment of its Justice and Conveniency, they may consult together about what has been by you proposed to them in our Lord the King's Name; and may do whatsoever shall be judged to be most convenient.

Upon which Address of the whole Cortes, the Infante, as Lord of Lara, declared, That he judged the War he had proposed to them to be so just, and so much for God's, and his Majesty's Service, that he was ready to serve in it with his whole Force and Estate, and to be the foremost in all Toils and Dangers.

After this Declaration of the Infante's, the War was, after a short Consultation, voted to be both just and holy by the whole Cortes, who promised to assist the King in it, to the utmost of their Power.

But though the Cortes were unanimous in voting the War, yet when they came to consider how great an Army and Fleet would be necessary to carry it on with Vigour, they were so divided, that the King, that no more Time might be lost, sent a Paper to them by Dr. John Rodriquez, one of the Procurators

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of *Salamanca*, wherein was a List of the Forces and Provisions his Majesty judged to be necessary: Which were ten thousand Lances, four thousand Ginets, and fifty thousand Foot, for the Land Army: And a Fleet of thirty armed Gallies, and fifty Ships of War to guard the Straits, and six heavy Canon, a hundred Shot of Powder, two Engines, twelve Battering Rams of Iron, a great Number of Spades, twelve Pair of Bellows, and six thousand Waggons.

The *Cortes* having very minutely computed the whole Charge of maintaining such a Fleet and Army for six Months, and of all the other Provisions in the King's Paper, found it would amount to an Hundred Millions, and two Hundred Thousand *Maravedies*; which being judged by them to be a Sum much too great for the Subject to pay, they ordered, that one third should be raised upon the Subject, and that the other third should be taken out of the great Treasure that was in *Oviedo*, and the last third out of the yearly Revenues of the Crown. And a Bill having been passed accordingly, and presented to the Throne,—the Infante told them, that the King expected to have the whole Charge of the Forces and Provisions contain'd in the Paper he had caused to be laid before them, supply'd by the Subject; all that the
King

King could spare out of his own Treasury and yearly Revenues being to be employed in the hiring and paying of the foreign Troops, over and above those mention'd in that Paper, which the King intended to make use of.

But the *Cortes* adhering stiffly to their Bill, and which they said laid more on the Subjects than they were well able to bear, the King at last passed it, but at the same time desired, that in case the Sum which they had given should be found not to be sufficient, that they would empower him, without assembling a *Cortes*, which would require time, to raise Money upon the Subject, to supply that Deficiency. And tho' the giving the King such a Power was fiercely opposed by a great many of the Procurators, as a thing that struck at the very Root of the Authority of a *Cortes*, it was carried by a Majority; and tho' it was granted only for that Year, yet that was enough to create such a Precedent, as would encourage their future Kings to desire to have the same Power, and to take it very ill if 'twere deny'd them; and by such weak or corrupt Concessions as these it was, that the *Spanish Cortes's* came to lose all their Authority.

The King, who by having taken from the Cities and great Towns the Power of choosing their own Magistrates, and by se-

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several other Oppressions had rendred himself very odious, happening to die before the Members of the *Cortes* had left *Toledo*, they caball'd together to lay aside his Son, who was but a Child, and to bestow the Crown on his Brother the Infante, *Don Ferdinand*, who had always been very popular; but the Infant, when the Crown was offered to him in the Name of most of the Nobles, and of all the Commons, by *Rui Lopez, D' Avila*, Constable of *Castile*, and who was one of the young King's Governors; he generously refused to accept of it, telling the Constable, and the Nobles that were with him, *That neither Covetousness, nor Ambition were strong enough in his Breast, to make him do so barbarous and inhuman a thing, as to rob an Orphan, and who was his Nephew, of his Crown:* But the Constable, who would not be put off with this Answer, endeavoured to persuade the Infante by the following Speech to change his Mind.

T H E

T H E

Constable's SPEECH.

S I R,

HAVING humbly supplicated you to accept of the Crown of your Father and Grandfather, and withall assured you, that this is so earnestly desired, not only by the Nobles, but by the Body of the People, that you need not fear meeting with any Opposition in it; We, who scorn either to dissemble or flatter, must now tell you farther, that as it is a dishonourable thing to obtain a Crown by vile and base Methods, so to refuse a Crown, when finding it self in Danger it begs your Protection, looks like Weakness and Cowardice.

Do not the Nature and Origin of all Royal Powers sufficiently teach us, that Crowns, when Reason of State requires it, may lawfully be taken from one, and given to another?

For in the Beginning of the World Men lived scattered in the Fields as wild Beasts do now, neither was there any such thing among them as Societies or Communities, only in particular Families, some Respect was paid to those among them, who were in Age and Prudence superior to the rest; but the Dangers

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gers People found themselves exposed to, of being oppress'd by others that were stronger, and the frequent Quarrels which happened among themselves, and with Strangers, were the things that induced them to form themselves into Societies; and to choose one for their Head, who was by his known Valour and Prudence able to protect and defend them against all others.

This was the Beginning of Societies, and the Origin of all Royal Authority, which in those ancient Times was not procured by Negotiations, and Subornations, but by Temperance, Fortitude and Integrity: neither did Royal Authority in those Days descend by Inheritance from Father to Son, but it was still given by the Consent of the People, who when their Prince died, chose one from among themselves to succeed him; for it was nothing but the exorbitant Power of Princes that first made Crowns hereditary; so that they must descend to their Children, tho' never so unfit for them; and can any thing be more dangerous than to have the Arms, the Treasures and Government of a People committed to one blindfold, and for no other Reason but because he was the Son of the deceased Prince; by which means, that which was due to Virtue and Merit only, comes to fall into the Hands of one that has never given the Publick any Assurance of his being fit to govern them?

by the same King at Toledo. 341

them? I shall not make use of remote Examples to confirm the Truth of this to you.

Upon the Death of King Henry I. was not his elder Sister, Donna Blanca, who was married into France, laid aside, and his younger Sister, Donna Berenguela declar'd Queen? The Wisdom of which Action was made illustrious by the Sanctity, and perpetual Felicity of her Son, Don Ferdinand. Was not the younger Son of Don Alonso the Wise, for the Proofs he had given of his Valour and good Conduct, preferred likewise to the Sons of his elder Brother, Don Ferdinand? But we need go no farther back than your Highness's own Grandfather King Henry, who deprived his Brother and his Daughters of the Crown, to which, had not this Action of your Grandfather's been lawful, our deceased King could have had no Title. And in Portugal, did not the Master of Avis seize on the Crown in the same Manner? Whether he did it lawfully or not, is none of our Business to inquire; but certain it is, he has kept it on his Head against all the Power of Castile: And in Aragon, was not the Crown but the other Day taken from the Daughter of King John, and given to her Uncle Don Martin, tho' he was then in Sicily? In a Word, has it not been always held just for the Communities or People, when Necessity required it, to alter any Constitution,
tho'

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tho at first established for the Publick
Good?

Had we pitch'd on a Stranger, or on one not Royally descended, we might then have been blamed for doing such a thing; but who can reckon that we, in our present Circumstances, do amiss, in desiring to have a Prince of the Royal Family for our King, and of whose good Government we are so well assured?

Consider therefore how dishonourable a thing it will be for you to slight the universal Affection of this Nation, and to avoid the Trouble and Burden of a Crown, by denying your Country your Protection at a time when it has so many Difficulties to struggle withal, tho' it begs it of you with bended Knees! Grant us therefore but this Request, and we will not, because it is needless, charge you to govern us with your customary Prudence and Temper.

This Speech, though it had its Policy backed with several ancient Prophecies, and very fresh Visions of the Infante's being King of Castile, could not move him to accept of that Dignity: and so he dismiss'd the Constable, and the rest of the Nobles, with telling them, That though he could not but thank them for their good Will, he was not able, in this Matter, to do them any Service,
but

by the same King at Toledo. 343

but only to promise not to acquaint his Lord the King, nor the Queen Mother with any such Proposition having ever been made to him.

And it was not long before this singular Virtue of the Infante's was rewarded, for within six Years after he was chosen King of *Aragon*; and in less than an hundred Years the Crown of *Castile* came by Marriage to his Grand-son *Ferdinand*; and is to this Day on the Head of his Posterity.

A N

A C C O U N T

OF THE

Manuscripts and Reliques

Found in the Ruins of the Uninhabitable *Turpian Tower*, in the City of *Granada*, in the Year 1588: And in the Mountain called *Valparayso*, near to that City, in the Year 1595.

Parturient Montes, nascetur ridiculus Mus.

D O N *Peter de Castro y Quinones*, Archbishop of *Granada*, having in the Year 1588, ordered an old Tower, which was some Nuisance to his Cathedral, to be taken down; the Workmen, in digging amongst its Ruins, lighted on a leaden Box; and having opened it, instead of the Treasure of *Barbary* Gold they expected, they found in it a large Sheet

Sheet of Parchment, written on both sides, after a very uncouth Fashion, and in it a piece of linen Cloth, about the Bigness of half a Pocket-Handkerchief, and a small Bone.

The Workmen, not knowing what to make of such a conjuring Sortment, for such it must have appeared to them, lodged it all in its Box again; and having carried it to their Master the Arch-Bishop, he not skilling such things himself, or at least pretending that he did not, summoned all the Criticks and Antiquaries that City and Country afforded to try their Skill upon it.

The Letters in the Manuscripts were alternately black, and coloured, and the Words were all in Chequers, and so legible, that it was plain at first Sight, that in one part of the Writing the Words were all *Arabick*, and in another part all barbarous and ill spelt *Latin*; and in the third and greatest Part, the Words were all *Spanish*, and the very same that is now spoken: a doughty Evidence of these Manuscripts fifteen hundred Years Antiquity.

But notwithstanding the Criticks understood the Signification of every Word in this venerable Manuscript, they could make no Sense of them as they lay; nor perhaps never would, had not its Author, who had been

been at so much dull Pains to make it mysterious, been so kind as to leave a Key in the Margin, to let the Age into it, that should be so happy as to find it: Which was done by still skipping over the next Word from the Top to the Bottom, and so back again: And though by thus hobbling it over the Criticks could make no very good Sense of it, yet they found its Author's Meaning as well as they could have done had he placed his Words in their common Order.

At the Top of the Parchment there were five small Crosses within one large Cross.

The first thing in the Writing was a Title in *Arabick*, declaring, That therein was contained, *A Prophecy of St. John the Evangelist, concerning the End of the World.*

The next thing was a *Narrative*, declaring how *St. Cæcilius* came by that Prophecy, and the linen Cloth, and the Bone that was in it.

The third thing was a Commentary of *St. Cæcilius's* upon that Prophecy.

And the last was a Relation of one Father *Patrick*, by whom this Treasure was hid in the *Apostle's Days.*

The PROPHECY of St. John the Evangelist, concerning the Consummation of the World, in the same Words as it is in the Parchment.

LA'edad de la lux, ya commencada por el Maestro, y con su passion redimida con dolor del cuerpo: y los prophetas passados; quo alumbrados de la tercera persona esperaran su venida.

Del mundo el acabamiento quiero contar: por boca deste Maestro, en la misericordia preferido: a los seys siglos cumplidos de su advenimiento por peccados graves el en mundo, q' cometidos seran tinieblas, se levantan muy escuras, en las orientales partes y a los occidentales se ostenderan por ministros furiosos, q' en ellas Seran criados; com q' la lux de nuestro sol se eclipsara; y el templo del Maestro y su fe, graves persecuciones padeceran: y los quinze siglos cumplidos por los pertinaces coracones enduricedos, segundas tinieblas se levantan en las partes de aquilon y de ellas un dragon saldra, que por su boca, arrojara simiente; que sembrada la fee dividira en setas y con la otra iuntada el mundo ocuparan, de las occidentales partes saldran los tres enemigos,

gos, su malicia aumentandoy por su Maestro la sensualidad traeran y con lepra nunca vista el mundo, se nilicionara la lux en parte diminuta de la tierra se retirara adonde con naufragios sustentada seran en el abrigo de la columna de piedra con estas senales prodigiosos y otras que el Cielo mostrara el genere humano sera amenazado y en especial el sacerdocio y anunciado el Antichristo, que sera brebe su venida con que esta prophesia se cumplira, y el iuyzo final se acercara, quando se manifestara al mundo, esta verdad, verdad, verdad, cumplida, del medio dia saldra el iuez de la verdad, quando le plazera.

This Prophecy render'd into English.

THE Age of the Light now begun, by the Master, and with his Passion redeemed with the Pain of his Body: And the past Prophets who being enlightned by the Third Person, waited for his coming: I having been preferred in Mercy, will by the Mouth of this Master give an Account of the End of the World. Six Ages being accomplished from his coming on Account of the grievous Sins of the World, which being committed, will be Darkness, and very great Darkness will arise in the *Eastern* Parts, and which will extend it self to the

West by the furious Ministers that are bred therein; with which the Light of the Sun will be eclipsed, and the Temple of the Master and his Faith will suffer grievous Persecutions.

And fifteen Ages being accomplished thorough obstinate and obdurate Hearts, a second Darkness will arise in the *Northern* Parts, out of which will come forth a Dragon, who will throw Seed out of his Mouth, which being sown, will divide the Faith into Sects, and which being joined with the other will occupy the World. From the Western Parts three Enemies will come forth, who having Sensuality for their Master, and increasing in their Malice, will infect the World with such a Leprosy as was never seen before; and the Light being much diminished will retire, but will in its Shipwracks be supported, by being under the Protection of the Pillar of its Stone.

With these prodigious Signs, and others which Heaven will shew, Mankind will be threatned, and particularly the Priesthood: And Antichrist, whose coming is at hand, being manifested, this Prophecy will be accomplished, and the final Judgment will draw near: and when this Truth, Truth, Truth shall be manifested to the World, and accomplished, the Judge of the Truth shall, when he pleaseth, come from the *South*.

The

The NARRATIVE.

ST. Cæcilius to partake of the Merits which are purchased by the visiting of Holy Places, santered to Jerusalem, and as he was returning home, having taken Athens in his Way, he professed Theology there, according to the Greek Method; but having been so unhappy as to lose his Sight in the Voyage, he continued Stone blind until he had visited Dionysius the Areopagite, who was at that time Bishop of Athens; and who having confessed St. Cæcilius, and given him the Body of Christ, rubbed his Eyes as soon as Mass was said, with the Handkerchief wherewith the Blessed Virgin had wiped off the Tears mingled with Blood, which were shed by her, when she was present at her Son's Passion.

Dionysius having helped St. Cæcilius thus to Eyes, shewed him a Prophecy written in Hebrew by St. John the Evangelist, and which had been render'd by him into Greek.

Concerning the Consummation of the World, and a Bone of the first Martyr St. Stephen; St. Cæcilius having by strong Importunity obtained a Copy of his Prophecy, he translated it into Spanish, and writ a Commentary upon it in Arabick; which was his Mother Tongue. He obtained likewise one half the Handkerchief

which had cured him of his Blindness, and the Bone of the First Martyr St. Stephen; all which Reliques he laid together to be preserved until God for the Instruction of Princes should be pleased to discover them to the World.

The next thing is St. Cæcilius's Commentary in *Arabick*, which the Inventors have not thought fit to publish in that or in any other Language; and all they tell us out of it is, That by an Age is meant an hundred Years; so that the False Prophet was not to rise in the *East* till Six hundred Years; nor the diabolical Dragon to appear in the *North* till fifteen hundred Years after *Christ's* Birth; but saith nothing of the three Enemies in the *West*, nor of the *Pillar of its Stone*; which are the two things in the Prophecy that wanted a Commentary most. But as it is plain that by the false Prophet in the *East*, *Mahomet* is meant; and by the *Dragon* in the *North*, Dr. *Luther*; so I do much suspect, that Dr. *Egidio*, and Dr. *Constantino*, and Dr. *Cazala*, who were all burnt in *Spain* for being Protestants, in the Beginning of the Reign of *Philip* the Ild, are the Persons meant by the Three Enemies in the *West*: And as for the *Pillar of Stone*, though St. Cæcilius saith nothing of it in his Commentary, Dr. *Madera*, the Publisher and Champion of these Antiquities, saith, That *Spain* is meant by it, and that upon no less Authority than that

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that of the Prophet *Esaïas*; who speaking of the *Spaniards* in the 24th Chapter of his Prophecy, calls them, *Habitatores Petræ*.

St. *Cæcilius* closeth his Commentary with the first seven Verses of St. *John's* Gospel, in *Arabick*, as they are sung in the *Roman Church*, and with this Subscription:

Cæcilius Bishop of Granada.

The last thing in this immortal Vellum is a Relation in *Latin*, not very classical tho' writ in *Nero's* Days, by one Father *Patrick* a Priest.

Father *Patrick's* RELATION.

Relatio Patricii Sacerdotis, servus Dei:
Cæcilius Episcopus Granatensis, cum in *Iberia* esset, & cum videret dierum suorum finem, occultè mihi dixit, se habere pro certo suum martyrium & appropinquare, & utpote qui ille qui in Deo amavit, thesaurum suarum reliquiarum mihi commendavit, & me admonuit, ut occultè haberem, & in loco locarem, & ut in potentiam *Maurorum* nunquam veniret, affirmans esse thesaurum salutis atq; scientiæ certæ & plurimum laborasse, & iter fecisse terrâ mariq;, & debere esse in occulto loco.

loco: donec Deus velit illum manifestare, & ego melius quum intellexi, in eo loco clausi ubi jacet, Deum rogans ut eum observet: Reliquiæ quæ hic jacent sunt profeciæ divi Joannis Evangelistæ, medius pannus quo Virgo Maria absterfit ab oculis lacrimas in passione sui filii sacrati.

Os divi Stevani primi martyris

Deo gratias.

This Relation turned into English.

“ **T**HE Relation of *Patrick* a Priest,
 “ the Servant of God: *Cæcilius* Bi-
 “ shop of *Granada*, being in *Iberia*, and see-
 “ ing the End of his Days approaching, told
 “ me in private, That he knew for certain,
 “ that he should speedily suffer Martyrdom;
 “ and whereas he loved me in God, he re-
 “ commended to me the Treasure of his
 “ Reliques, and charged me to keep it secret,
 “ and to lodge it in a secret Place, that it
 “ might never fall into the Hands of the
 “ *Moors*; affirming it to be a Treasure of
 “ Health and certain Knowledge, and that
 “ he had been at great Pains, and travelled
 “ both by Sea and Land, and that it ought
 “ to be kept in a secret Place, until God shall

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“ be pleased to bring it to light : I to the
“ best of my Knowledge hid it in this Place,
“ beseeching God to keep it : The Reliques
“ which lie here are, *The Prophecies of St.*
“ *John the Evangelist, concerning the End of*
“ *the World* ; Half of the Cloth where-
“ with the Virgin *Mary* wiped the Tears
“ from her Eyes, shed by her at the Passion
“ of her Holy Son ; and a Bone of *St. Ste-*
“ *phen* the first Martyr. Thanks be to God.

Thus far Father *Patrick*, a proper Name enough for the Relator of such a blind Story, and in truth for the Contriver of this whole Farce : which has not so many Sentences as it has Blunders in it, with clear Evidences of its being supposititious.

But as blind as it is, the Discovery of the *Indies* was not entertained in *Spain* with greater Joy than this Discovery was, but chiefly in the City and Kingdom of *Granada* ; which having been recovered out of the Hands of the *Moors* long after all the other *Spanish* Provinces, had but a poor Stock of Reliques, the Treasures of all others which the *Spanish* Cities and Towns value themselves most upon ; a famous Miracle-working Relique being of more Advantage to any Place that has it, than twenty Fairs.

The

The *Galicians*, whose true Legend of *St. James of Compostella* stood in great need of some ancient Evidence, rejoiced extremely at its having received so authentick a Confirmation.

One good Effect however, tho' it was not miraculous, this Discovery had; which was, that it furnished the *Spaniards* with something else to think and talk of, besides the Loss of their great *Armado*, which happened the same Year.

This Invention having succeeded so well, gave Encouragement to new Adventures; and a Report having been spread abroad, *That a prodigious Treasure of Gold and Jewels had been hid by the Moors in a Mountain called Valparaso, about half a Mile from the City of Granada*; the People after having received the best Directions which were to be had from cunning Men, went to work in some of its Caverns, which it was very full of; where they had not dug long, before they met with a *Plate of Lead*, with the following Inscription, upon it:

Corpus istum Divi Mesitonis Martiris, passus est, sub Neronis Imperatoris potentatu.

The burnt Body of *St. Mesiton*, who suffered under the Power of *Nero*.

This

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This Relique having been carried to the Archbishop, he was so transported with Joy, that he resolved to spare for no Cost nor Pains to find the Ashes of this burnt Martyr; and having set all Hands to work, the teeming Mountain was on the 28th of March 1595. delivered of a second Plate, with the following Inscription upon it.

Anno secundo Neronis Imperii, Marci Calendis passus fuit Martirium in hoc loco Illupulitano electus ad hunc effectum, sanctus Hiscius Apostoli Jacobi decipus cum suis Discipulis Turillo, Panuncio, Marenio, Centulio, per medium ignem in quo vivi ambusti fuerunt eternam vitam petentibus transiere, ut lapides in calcem conversi fuerint; quorum pulvens in hujus sacri montis cavernis jacent, qui ut ratio postulat in eorum memoriam veneretur.

“ In the second Year of Nero's Empire,
“ on the Kalends of March, St. Hiscius a
“ Disciple of the Apostle St. James suffered
“ Martyrdom in this Place of Illupulis,
“ which was chosen for that Purpose, with
“ his Disciples Turillus, Panuncius, Maranus, and Centulius, passing thorough the
“ midst of the Fire wherein they were
“ burnt alive, to Life eternal, and were
“ burnt as Stones are to Lime; whose Dust
“ is lodged in the Caverns of this holy
“ Moun.

Mountain; which as Reason requires,
ought to be venerated in Memory of
them;

On the 10th of *April* of the same Year
the Workmen, as they were digging after
this great Vein of Ashes, did light on a
third Plate of the same Metal with the
following Inscription upon it.

*Anno secundo Neronis Imperii Kalendis
Aprilis passus est Martirium in hoc loco Illupi-
lito, Thesiphon dictus priusquam convertere-
tur Abenathar, divi Jacobi Apostoli discipulus,
vir literis & sanctitate præditus, plumbi tabu-
lis exscripsit librum illum, fundamentum Ec-
clesiæ appellatum, & simul passi sunt sui disci-
puli, Dnus Maximinus, Luparius, quorum pul-
vis & liber sunt cum pulveribus divorum Mar-
tyrum in hujus sacri mont. cavernis in eorum
memoriam veneretur.*

“ In the second Year of Nero’s Empire, on
“ the first of *April*, St. *Thesiphon*, who be-
“ fore he was converted was named *Abena-*
“ *ther*, suffered Martyrdom in this Place of
“ *Illupulis*, he was a Disciple of the Apostle
“ St. *James*, and was endowed with Learn-
“ ing and Sanctity; he transcribed into Ta-
“ bles of Lead the Book called, *The Founda-*
“ *tion of the Church*; and with him suffered
“ *Maximinus* and *Luparius*: His Dust and

“ Book

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“ Book with the Dust of divers Martyrs are
“ in the Caverns of this holy Mountain;
“ and let them be revered in their Me-
“ mory.

After so many Notices of so great a Treasure of Martyrs Ashes, the Workmen at last came to a large Cavern, which looked like a Prison or Dungeon, wherein they met with a great many Bones, and with Lumps of Earth of a whitish Colour, and which were judged to be the Ashes of the Martyrs, who in one of the Plates were said to have been burnt like Stones into Lime: This Dungeon supply'd the Church of *Granada*, which before had few or no Reliques, with more ancient sacred Bones and Ashes than all the Churches in *Spain* had besides; but as Covetousness has no Bounds, they went on still with their Work, and on the 21th of *April* they met with a leaden Box wherein was a Book with this Title — *Liber Fundamenti Ecclesiae Salomonis characteribus scriptus*, A Book of the Foundation of the Church written in the Characters of *Salomon*.

Upon so ancient a Manuscript and upon so great a Subject, not having been published all this while, and nothing having been ever quoted out of it, one cannot but think that either the *Spanish* Criticks, who have it in their keeping, do not know how to decy-

decypher *Salomon's* Characters, or that there is nothing in this Book that favours the Papal Supremacy in the Church.

But tho' this ancient Manuscript has never been one quoted, one of the same Antiquity, and found at the same Time, and in the same Place; has been frequently; and to decide a Controversy which the Pope himself dare not mount his infallible Chair to determine, tho' solicited to do it by a splendid Embassy sent to him by the King of *Spain* solely for that Purpose.

This Manuscript is in *Arabick*, and was writ by *St. Cecilius*: its Title is —

De Domo Gloriæ & Domo Tormenti.

Of the House of Glory, and the House of Torment.

In this Book, after divers high Encomiums of the Blessed Virgin *Mary*, is found the following Definition made by all the Apostles of her immaculate Conception.

Illā Virgo Maria, illā sancta, illā electa, a primo originarioq; peccato præservata fuit; atq; hæc veritas Apostolorum Concilium est; quam qui negaverit, maledictus, & excommunicatus erit, & salutem non consequetur, sed in æternum damnabitur.

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“ She the Virgin *Mary*, She the Holy ;
“ She the Elect, was preserved from the
“ first and original Sin, and was free from
“ all Guilt; this Truth is a Council of the
“ Apostles, and let who will deny it, he is
“ accursed, excommunicated, and shall not
“ acquire Salvation, but shall be damned
“ for ever.

It was an unhappy thing for these Manuscripts and Reliques, that this Apostolical Definition was found in their Company, for had it not been for this Definition, their Truth and Authority had never been questioned by any Person in *Spain*: And the *Dominicans*, who, where they dare do it, do now call them late and gross Impostures, would have been their boldest Champions.

The Vein of Manuscripts holds out still; and on the 25th of *April* a Box covered with thick Lead was found, and in it a Book written on leaden Plates, with the following Title.

Liber de Essentia Dei, quem Divus Thiphon Apostoli Jacobi discipulus in sua naturali lingua Arabica Salomoni characteribus scripsit: & alium, fundamentum Ecclesiae appellatum, qui in hujus sacri Montis Carvernis jacet.

Deus

Deus a Nerone Imperatore hos duos liberet libros, imposuit finem hinc suis operibus scribens miracula & vitæ integritatem sui magistri-vi in hujus sacri montis ea est.

“ A Book of the Essence of God, which
 “ divine *Thisiphon*, a Disciple of *James* the A-
 “ postle, writ in his own natural Tongue,
 “ which was *Arabick* in *Salomon's* Cha-
 “ racters, and another called *The Foundati-*
 “ *on of the Church*, which is in the Caverns
 “ of this holy Mountain.

God deliver these two Books from *Nero* the Emperor; he put an end to his Works, writing the Miracles ——— of his Master ——— who is in the ——— Caverns of this holy Mountain.

I do suspect that the Storm, the pretending to have *St. James's* Body in their *Granada* Mountain, would have brought upon all these new found Reliques from *Compostella*, and all the other Quarters of *Spain*, was the thing that made all the *Chasms* at the end of this Writing; for it is pretty plain from the remaining Pieces of Words, that when they were entire, they said, that the Body of *Thisiphon's* Master, who was *St. James* the Apostle, was buried in the Caverns of this holy Mountain. So that had not the Founders of these Manuscripts and Reliques had more Judgment than the

the Forgers of them, their Credit had been ruined for ever in *Spain* by this single Indiscretion.

For tho' some poor Churches, rather than go to Law, and spend a great deal of Money at *Rome*, have suffered such Differences to be composed by the common Miracle of multiplying the same individual Body so, that they all had it; *Compostella* is both too rich, and has its Title to St. *James's* Body too strongly guarded by a numerous Order of valiant Knights, to have stoop'd to so common an Expedient.

And this they who had the Examination of these Manuscripts, when they were first found, knew very well, and so did very discreetly obliterate that bold Pretence, contenting themselves with what they knew *Compostella* would be willing to allow them, that is, the Bones and Ashes of that Apostle's Disciples; and which had they pretended to more, would never have been allowed them.

I cannot understand how the Church would have suffered much had this Book, with the Title of *its Foundation*, and its *Companion*, fallen into *Nero's* Hands, and had been destroy'd by him, against which he that hid them prays, as if it would have been the greatest Loss the Church could have sustained.

On the 30th of April the Basket was pinned with a Plate of Lead, with the following Inscription upon it,

*Anno secundo Neronis Imp. Kalendis Februarii passus est Martirium in hoc — tano divus Cecilius sancti Jacobi discipulus, vir literis linguis & sanctitate præditus, Prophe-
tias divi Johannis commentavit, quæ sunt posite cum aliis reliquiis in sublimi parte inhabitabilis turris Turpianæ, sicut dixerunt mihi sui discipuli dias Setentrius, & Patricius, qui cum illo passi sunt quorum pulveres jacent in unius sacri montis cavernis in quorum memoriam veneretur.*

“ In the second Year of the Empire of
“ Nero, on the Kalends of February, St.
“ Cecilius a Disciple of St. James suffered
“ Martyrdom in this Place of Illipulis, a
“ Man endowed with Letters, Tongues,
“ and Holiness; he commentaried all the
“ Prophecy of St. John the Apostle, which
“ with other Reliques are lodged in the
“ high Part of the uninhabitable Turpian
“ Tower, as I was told by his Disciples
“ St. Setentrius and Patrick, who suffered
“ with him, and whose Dusts do lye in the
“ Caverns of a certain Mountain, which
“ in Memory of them ought to be venerated.

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This Plate helps us to the Name of the Tower wherein the first Reliques were found; and tells us farther, that it was then uninhabitable; but it does not tell what made it to be so, neither is it easy to guess; since it could not well have been ruinous 1500 Years before it was taken down; and haunted it could not be, having so sacred a Treasure lodged in it.

This Collection of Manuscripts having been unanimously judged to be genuine by all the Criticks and Antiquaries in Lead and Parchment, as well as in Words, Phrases and History; the Archbishop caused a *Te Deum* to be sung with great Solemnity in his Cathedral, for the Invention of so inestimable a Treasure, and which having been magnify'd by the Preachers as the greatest Largeſs any City had ever received from Heaven; the Peoples Devotion for the Mountain which had been delivered of so blessed a Treasure was so great, that in a short time there were above four hundred Crosses erected upon it; neither would the People have rested there, but would have had Altars likewise set up, and Masses said upon them, had not there Zeal been restrained by the Archbishop, until the Mountain was judicially, and according to the Canonical Forms, declared to be holy Ground.

And to that end the Archbishop sent a full Narrative of the whole Matter to Pope *Clement* the VIII. from whom he received a special Commission to call an Assembly, to determine it. But before the meeting of that Assembly, the Dominicans, who should those Manuscripts be judged genuine, were by the Apostles accursed, excommunicated, and damned to the Pit of Hell for denying the immaculate Conception of the blessed Virgin, mustered all their Forces, and made such Objections against them, as one would think should so far have ruined their Credit, that it was not possible for one of common Sense, and much less for an Assembly of wise and learned Men, to have judged them to be genuine, and of fifteen hundred Years standing.

The first Objection was, That the Prophecy which was found in the Tower was in true modern *Spanish*, a Language that was no where in the World for some hundreds of Years after *Nero's* Death.

The second Objection was, that *St. Cecilius* is called in them Bishop of *Granada*; whereas there was no such Bishoprick, nor no such City in a great many hundred Years after *Nero's* Death; *Granada* having been built, and named so by the *Moors* 700 Years after *Nero's* Time; neither was it
ever

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ever a Bishoprick till it was made so by *Ferdinand* and *Ifabel*, above 1400 Years after *Nero*.

The third Objection was, That in the Writings the *Moors* are named as in *Spain*, so that the Writings were in Danger of falling into their Hands; whereas it was 700 Years after the Death of *Nero* before the *Moors* came into *Spain*,

The fourth was, That *Arabick* was a Language not known either in *Barbary* or in *Spain*, till above 500 Years after the Death of *Nero*.

The fifth was, That neither in the Apostles Days nor a great many Years after, were the Titles of *Divus* and *Sanctus* given to Christians; and especially whilst they were alive.

The sixth was, that the fourteen first Verses of the Gospel of *St. John*, as they are sung in the *Roman* Offices, are in this Writing, which Gospel was not writ till several Years after *Nero's* Death.

The seventh was, That *St. Stephen's* Body was not found before the Reign of the Emperor *Honorius*, who was 300 Years after *Nero*.

The eighth was, That the Holy Ghost was not called the Third Person till after the Apostles Days.

The ninth was, That such a fantastical way of Writing was late, and unworthy of the Gravity of St. *Cecilius*.

The tenth was, That the whole had the Air of a Fraud in it very sensibly.

These were the Objections which were made against the Writings found, in the uninhabitable *Turpian* Tower.

Neither were the Objections made against those which were found, in the Mountain less unanswerable,

The first Objection was, That all Historians do agree, that there was no Persecution in the second Year of *Nero*.

The second was, That it is certain, that *Illupula* was not near the Place where *Granada* stands.

The third was, That the Mountain wherein these Reliques were found, having been the Place where publick Malefactors were put to death and buried; there was Cause to believe that the Bones and Ashes, which had been found in them, were the Reliques of the publick Malefactors.

The fourth was, That the ancient Book called *Fundamentum Ecclesiae* was condemned a thousand Years before, by Pope *Gelasius* as spurious.

The fifth was, That the Word *Essentia*,

as it is here used, was a Term lately devised by the Schoolmen.

The sixth was, That St. *Hiscius* having been called *Abenathar* before he was converted; and St. *Thesiphon* having writ in *Arabic* and in the Characters of *Salomon*, has the Air of an idle Tale.

The last was, that the Words, the Phrase, and the Spelling of the *Latin* in these Manuscripts are so barbarous and false, that they must have been written a great many hundred Years after *Nero's* Death.

To these Objections which were made in *Spain*, several others may be added.

1. That the whole of this blundering Imposture stands upon the Story of St. *James* the Apostle having been in *Spain*, and having made a great many Disciples there; which is as gross a Fiction, as any in the Roman Legends; and was condemned as such by an Archbishop of *Toledo* when it was first broached, which was a thousand Years after the Apostles Days.

2. There are several Doctrines found in these Writings, which were not hatched till some hundreds of Years after the Death of the Apostles; as its being meritorious to visit holy Places, Transubstantiation, auricular Confession, the immaculate Conception, &c.

Lastly, none of the Persons named in these Writings were ever heard of in a great many hundred Years after the Apostles Days; and some of them, as *Centurius*, *Luparius*, *Patrick*, &c. were never heard of before the time of this Discovery.

I shall give the Reader only a Taste of the Answers returned by Dr. *Madera* to some of these Objections.

One Answer is, That the *Spanish* Language was the very same as it is now; not only in *Nero's* Days, but before any *Roman* ever came into *Spain*.

Another is, That the City of *Granada* was in being, and was a Bishoprick, and was called by that Name in the Apostles Days.

A third is, That *Arabick* was a Language used in *Spain* and *Barbary*, long before they were conquered by the *Arabs*.

And a fourth is, That St. *John's* Gospel was written before the second Year of *Nero*; and that in that Year there was a great Persecution.

All which are such monstrous Absurdities, that one would not think it possible, for a Person of any Knowledge in Antiquity, to affirm them to be Truths. And yet Dr. *Madera*, who was a very learned Man, does it, and with an Assurance which no Truths that are not undeniably attested can lay Claim to; only in his Preface, where he
speaks

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speaks of the Disposition of Mind that is necessary to the passing of a true Judgment on such sacred Antiquities; he seems to have had some Misgivings about them, in exhorting all that would judge aright of such Matters, not to suffer Thoughts to arise in their Hearts against them; that is to say, they must not allow themselves the Liberty to think of any thing that would shake their implicit Belief of them.

Now it is by this very Course that all sensible *Roman Catholicks* are kept from discovering the gross Fallshood of *Transubstantiation*, and of divers Errors and pretended Facts; the vile Bondage of Thought the *Roman Church* keeps her Sheep under being her chief Security.

But though they whose Minds stand thus affected to any thing, do not disbelieve it, because they are resolved not to suffer their Minds to do that; yet they cannot be said to believe it any farther, than a forced not disbelieving, is believing.

And how acceptable such a Belief, if it deserves that Name, even when its Objects happen to be true, can be to God, who requires a reasonable Service from his reasonable Creatures, I leave to any one to judge.

And as the Answers returned by the Champions of these Manuscripts and Reliques to the Objections which had been made

made against them, are monstrously absurd, so their Arguments to prove them to be genuine, are of the same Stamp.

One of their *Arguments* is, That these Manuscripts and Reliques have as strong Evidences of their being true, as those had which were found much after the same manner at *Corduba*, or as those of St. *Placidius*, found in *Sicily*.

I believe this may be true ; and if it would have given any Strength to their *Argument*, they might justly have added, and as those of *Compostella*, and of the itinerant Chapel of *Loretto*, and as of an hundred more, which are all equally kept in Credit by pure Dint of Forehead, or by Bondage of Thought.

Their 2^d *Argument* is, That if these Writings were supposititious, they must have been forged either by a *Mahometan*, an *Heretick*, or a *Catholick*: The two first, as great Friends as they are to Forgeries of this nature, would not forge writings which should condemn their own Sects ; and as for a *Catholick*, he is not capable of so ill a thing as the counterfeiting of Writings and putting Saints Names to them.

It will easily be granted, that the *Mahometan* and *Heretick* had no hand in these Writings ; but that a *Roman Catholick* is not capable of doing such things, and of reckoning it to be meritorious, cannot be grant-

granted so easily; such pious Frauds as these having never been used so much by all the Sects of Religion put together, or with so good Success as by the *Roman* Church and her Members, for some hundreds of Years.

The 3d *Argument* is, That they have proved themselves genuine by the vast Multitude of Miracles which have been wrought by them, since they were discovered.

What strange Infidels does this Argument make the *Dominicans*, who live in *Granada* to be, who will not be convinced by so many Miracles wrought under their Noses? But since in Disputes among themselves, when innumerable Miracles are by both Sides affirmed to have been wrought in Favour of their contrary Causes, that Pretence is by both rejected with Scorn and Contempt, why may not such a Pretence in this Case deserve to be treated in the same manner? However there is one thing, would the Patrons of these Reliques be persuaded to, that would help them to more Credit in the World, than their giving out, that they have wrought a thousand Miracles in *Granada*; and that is, if they cannot spare them all, to send one of 'em to work but one single Miracle on the Exchange of *London*, or of *Amsterdam*; for whatever they

they may think, it is no small Prejudice to the Reputation of the innumerable Miracles which are confidently said to be wrought daily by the Reliques in the *Roman* Church in Confirmation of their own Truth, and of several of that Church's Doctrines, that it is their constant ill Fate to be wrought no where, but among those who do not want their Testimony, but never among those that do.

But their last, and, in *Spain*, unanswerable Argument, is the following solemn and unanimous Decision made in their Favour, by the Archbishop of *Granada*, in a full Assembly of *Ecclesiasticks* and *Laicks*, called together for that Purpose.

In the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

WE, *Don Peter de Castro*, by the Grace of God, and the holy Apostolick See, Archbishop of *Granada*, and of his Majesty's Council, with the Assent of the most Reverend Prelates, *Don John de Fonseca*, Bishop of *Guadis*, and of his Majesty's Council, our Co-Provincial and Suffragan, and *Don Sebastian Quintero*, Bishop of *Galipoli*, and *Don Alfonso de Mendoza*, Abbot of *Alcala la real*.

Having examined all the Reliques which were found at the taking down of a most

‘ most ancient Tower in this our Church,
‘ in the Year 1588; as also all those which
‘ were found in the Mountain near this
‘ City, called *Valparayso*, in the Year 1595.
‘ and the Knowledge and Approbation of
‘ such things belonging to us by common
‘ Right, and by the Council of *Trent*,
‘ as also by a special Commission from our
‘ Most holy Father, *Clement VIII.* We
‘ have seen this Process, and all the Infor-
‘ mations, Confirmations, and Diligences
‘ which are made therein; and having con-
‘ sulted and deliberated with most learned
‘ and pious Men, as well Divines, as of all
‘ other Faculties, whom we have assembled,
‘ and having done every thing else that was
‘ necessary, or that seemed to be conve-
‘ nient:

‘ We being all unanimous, do with one
‘ Mind and *Sense* declare what we ought;
‘ and we do declare, define, and pronounce
‘ the said Reliques contain’d in this Process,
‘ to wit, The half of the Cloth where-
‘ with our Lady, the glorious Virgin *Mary*,
‘ wiped off her Tears, shed at the Passion
‘ of her Son, our Redeemer, and the Bone
‘ of St. *Stephen*, the first Martyr, to be,
‘ and they truly are, half the Handkerchief
‘ of our Lady, and the Bone of the first
‘ Martyr St. *Stephen*; and to have been hid,
‘ shut up, and kept within the Wall of a
‘ most

' most ancient Tower, which stood in the
 ' Place whereon the chief Church of this
 ' City was built: having been put into a
 ' Leaden Box, glewed within and without,
 ' in which Box there was likewise a Relati-
 ' on of one *Patrick* a Priest, written in
 ' very ancient Parchment; which declares,
 ' that the said Reliques were there, and that
 ' they had been hid by the Command of
 ' *St. Cecilius*, all which was found in the
 ' said Leaden Box in the said Year 1588,
 ' on the 19th of *March*, being *Saturday*,
 ' the Day of *St. Joseph*, in the taking
 ' down, and demolishing the said Tower.

' And we do likewise declare, define and
 ' pronounce the Bones, Ashes, Dust, and
 ' the white Clods, which in the Year 1595
 ' were found within the Caverns of the
 ' said Mountain, called *Valparayso*, to be
 ' the true Reliques of the Holy Martyrs,
 ' who are now injoying God, and are
 ' reigning with him in Heaven; to wit of
 ' the Holy Martyrs *St. Cecilius*, *St. Hiscius*,
 ' and *St. Thesiphon*, the Disciples of the
 ' Blessed Apostle *St. James of Zebede*; as
 ' also of *St. Septentrio* and of *Patrick*, the
 ' Disciples of *St. Cecilius*; and of *St. Tu-*
 ' *rillus*, *Pamuncius*, *Maranius*, *Centulius*, the
 ' Disciples of *St. Hiscius*; and of *St. Maxi-*
 ' *minus* and *Luparius*, the Disciples of
 ' *St. Thesiphon*; as also of *Mesiton*; and that

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all the said Saints, *Cecilius*, *Hiscius*, and
Thesiphon, and all their said Disciples, and
St. *Mesiton*, did suffer Martyrdom, and
were all burnt alive within the Caves and
Caverns of the said Mountains, for Jesus
Christ our Redeemer, and for his holy
Catholick Faith, and for preaching and
publishing of the Holy Gospel, in the se-
cond Year of the Empire of *Nero*.

St. *Cecilius* and his Disciples on the first
of *February*, St. *Hiscius* and his Disci-
ples on the first of *March*, having been
burnt as Stones turned into Lime, and
St. *Thesiphon* and his Disciples on the first
of *April*, as is declared and shewed by
four Plates of most ancient Lead, written
in the *Latin* Tongue, in most ancient
Characters, and some other Instruments of
most ancient Lead; all which were in-
closed and hid within the said Caverns
until now, that we found them in the said
Year 95; all which is manifest, and is re-
solved and confirmed by this Process, God
having also demonstrated and proved the
same by many Miracles.

In consequence whereof we do declare,
That the said Reliques ought to be receiv'd,
honoured, venerated and adored, with
due Honour and Worship, as the true
Reliques of our Lady; and of the said Mar-
tyrs, who do reign with our Lord God;
accord-

‘ according as the *Roman Catholick* Church
 ‘ useth to venerate the Reliques of Saints;
 ‘ and that they ought to be publickly shew’d
 ‘ to Christian People, and to all the Faithful
 ‘ for that purpose that all may invoke them.

And we with all these here assembled,
 do so receive and venerate them, and we do
 command that they be all put in a safe Place,
 and which shall be judged by Us or our
 Successors to be most decent.

‘ And we do farther declare the said Place
 ‘ and Mountain of *Valparayso*, in whose Ca-
 ‘ verns all the said Saints suffer’d Martyr-
 ‘ dom, to be a holy and sacred Place, and
 ‘ which ought to be honour’d and venera-
 ‘ ted as the said Plates do command in Me-
 ‘ mory of the said Saints, who suffer’d Mar-
 ‘ tyrdom in them; and to enjoy all the Pre-
 ‘ rogatives which are by common Right,
 ‘ and by the Canons given to such sacred
 ‘ Places; and we do command this to be ob-
 ‘ served; and by this our Sentence we do so
 ‘ pronounce and command, and do sign it with
 ‘ our Name, and seal it with our hanging Seal.

Peter de Castro
Archiep. Granat.

S. Episcopus Galipol.

Subscripsi.

Joannes Episcop.
Guadix.

Alphonsus Abbas

Subscripsi.

‘ We

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‘ We the Lords of the Royal Audience,
‘ and Chancery of his Majesty residing in this
‘ City, and who having been named by his
‘ Lordship the Archbishop, are here present,
‘ do subscribe and sign it: Licentiate *Peter*
‘ *Mallem de Rueda*, Dr. *Antony Burrab*,
‘ Dr. *Antony Corriero*, Li. *Don Ochao de Lu-*
‘ *gando*, Li. *Don John de Cuniga*, Li. *Don*
‘ *Baltasar de Lovencana*, *Don John de St.*
‘ *Vincente*, Li. *Don Francis de Teiada*, y
‘ *Mendoca*; Li. *Gregory Lopez Madera*.

‘ For the most Illustrious Archbishop of
‘ *Santiago*, Li. *Don John de St. Clemente*,
‘ Archdeacon of *Neodes*; Li. *Alonso Lopez*
‘ Canon: For the Dean and Chapter of the
‘ said Metropolitan Church of *St. Jago*, Dr.
‘ *Luke Alonso de Castro*, Archdeacon of *Voux*,
‘ and Canon: For the Dean and Chapter of
‘ the Holy Church of *Corduba*, *Don Rodri-*
‘ *go Velarde de Morillon*, Dr. *Diego Lopez de*
‘ *Fromesta*, *John de Riaca de Caneto*, Dr. *Al-*
‘ *vare de Cardenas*: For the Dean and Chap-
‘ ter of the Holy Church of *Guadix*, Dr. *Don*
‘ *James de Sancta Cruz*. *Saareda* Chantor
‘ Li. *Christopher Sanchez de Soto* Doctoral
‘ Canon: For his Lordship and the Dean
‘ and Chapter of the Metropolitan Church
‘ of *Granada*, were present Dr. *Don Peter*
‘ *Guerrero* Treasurer; Li. *Don Peter de*
‘ *Molina*, Doctoral Canon and Professor
‘ of Canon Law, and Apostolical Inquisitor:

' Li. *Don George de Texerina* Dean: Dr.
 ' *Don Lewis de Castella*, Archdeacon: Dr.
 ' *Don Lewis de Raya* Schoolmaster: Dr.
 ' *Don John de la Canal* Prior: Dr. *Don*
 ' *Francis Pacleco*, Canon and Professer of the
 ' Scripture: Dr. *Don Goncalo Sanchez Lu-*
 ' *zeno Magistrall*, Canon and Professer of
 ' Divinity: Li. *Justin Antolinez de Burgos*,
 ' Provisor and Vicar General of *Granada*;
 ' for the most Reverend the Bishop of *Ale-*
 ' *meria*, Dr. *Peter Martinez de Espinoza*,
 ' Chaplain of the Royal Chapel; Frier
 ' *John Ramirez*, Provincial and Definitor
 ' General and Consultor of the Holy Of-
 ' fice of the Order of St. *Francis*: Frier
 ' *James Ocon*, Dr. Provincial, and Vicar
 ' General of the Order of the most Holy
 ' Trinity; *Francis de Quesada*, Provincial
 ' of the Society of *Jesus*; Frier *John de*
 ' *Polanco*, Prior of the *Carthusians*; Frier
 ' *Vincent Cano Valenceula*, Master of Divi-
 ' nity, and Prior of *Sancta Cruz la real*;
 ' Frier *Fustero*, M. Guardian of St. *Fran-*
 ' *cis*; *Peter de Vargas*, Rector of the So-
 ' ciety of *Jesus*: Master Frier *Hernando*
 ' *de Peralta*, of the Order of St. *Austin*:
 ' Master Frier *Francis de Segoria*, of the
 ' Order of St. *Hierom*: Frier *John Ro-*
 ' *mera*. M. and Rector of the Study of
 ' *Santa Cruz de Real* of *Granada*: M.
 ' Frier *Francis Nunes*, the Chief Preacher
 ' of

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of the Convent of *St. Austin*, in *Granada*; Mr. Frier *Peter de Medina*, Professor of Divinity, and Definitor of *Andulazia* of the Order of the Mercy; *Thomas Sanchez*, a Theologue, and a Professed of the Society of *Jesus*; *Mart de Castillo*, M. of Divinity and Rector of the *Jesuits* College in *Sevil*; *Austin Quirenius* a Theologue of the Society of *Jesus*.

Note, That though there are Friars of all other Orders among these Subscribers, there is not one of the Dominican; the Eyes of that Order, which in all such Matters are commonly shut as close as any others, having been opened, as to this, by the Apostolical Definition of the immaculate Conception which was found among these Manuscripts.

The glorious Victory bold Authority here had over Learning, Reason, and common Sense, plainly demonstrates how little Regard in Matters of Religion is due to the Determinations of any Assembly, that holds it to be lawful, if not meritorious, to lie for God, by making use of pious Frauds for the Encouragement of Devotion; let such Assemblies be never so numerous, and the Persons they consist of be never so emi-

ment for Wisdom and Learning, and for Integrity too in all other Cases: For could any thing, but that vile Opinion having reigned in this Assembly, ever have made so many Persons of great Wisdom and Learning, and in such high Posts, so far to have disgraced their Judgments, and prostituted their Consciences, as solemnly, and as in the Sight of God, to pronounce Writings, which are so palpably spurious, and but of Yesterday, to be genuine, and of fifteen hundred Years standing?

For that all these Manuscripts were forged, and hid, after the City of *Granada* was, in the Year 1492, recovered from the *Moors*, is too notorious for any who are able to read them to doubt of: And if by the *three Enemies in the West*, mentioned in the Prophecy, Dr. *Egidio*, Dr. *Constantine*, and Dr. *Cazala* are meant, as it is more than probable they are, these Manuscripts must not then have been forty Years old when they were found; those three great Glories of *Spain*, for Learning, Zeal, and Piety, not having been taken up by the Inquisition for being Protestants until after the Year 1550.

But though the Manuscripts are all palpably very modern, it is not improbable that the Reliques of Bones and Ashes may be as ancient as the Plates say they are; the Caverns

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verns wherein they were found having been the Burying-place of publick Malefactors, in the Times of the *Romans*.

Neither is it any new thing, that the Bones and Ashes of such should come to be venerated, and being visited with great Devotion, that they should be reckoned to work Miracles; the Complaint, that some whose Souls were in Hell had their Bodies, or some Part of them venerated on Earth, being near as ancient as the Superstition of venerating Reliques: And let Reliques be whose they will, when they are visited by great Multitudes of People with Deyotion, to help them to Health, unless none that visit them do ever recover, which in such Multitudes would be a Miracle indeed, they will infallibly be reckoned to have wrought Miracles.

A
V I E W
OF THE
COURT of INQUISITION
IN
P O R T U G A L

With a LIST of the Prisoners that
came forth in an Act of the Faith
celebrated at *Lisbon*, in the Year
1682.

THE Court of Inquisition, which
in *Portugal* is commonly called
The Holy Office, and, *The Holy*
House, consists of an *Inquisitor General*,
the Supreme Council, Inquisitors, Asses-
sors, Qualificators, a Secretary, an Ad-
vocate Fiscal, a Treasurer, Familiars, and
Goalers.

The *Inquisitor General*, who is commonly called the *Inquisidor Mor*, is named by the King, but confirmed and authorized by the *Pope*, to act as his Delegate; he lives constantly at *Lisbon*, in an House in the Inquisition, which belongs to his Office: It is a Place of so great Dignity and Profit, that the Cardinal *Infante Don Henry*, and *Albert* Cardinal, Arch-Duke of *Austria*, were in it, and *Don Verissimo Alencastro* left the Primacy of *Braga* for it.

The *Counsellors* of the Supreme Court are all named by the *Inquisitor Major*, but must before they act have the King's Approbation: This Council sits constantly twice a Week at *Lisbon*.

The *Inquisitors*, who are commonly Secular Priests, do belong either to the Supreme Court which is fixed at *Lisbon*, or to the Inquisitions of *Conimbra*, *Ebora*, or *Goa* in the *East Indies*, which Courts have all the same inferior Officers, and Stiles, and have all their Acts of the Faith.

The *Assessors* are Divines, Civilians, and Canonists, which are consulted by the Inquisitors in all different Cases.

The

The Qualificators are employed in correcting and amending of Books, and are commonly *Dominican Friars*.

It is to be hoped the *Heresy of Doctrines* is better understood by these Qualificators, than the Etymology of the Word *Heretick* was by the Writer of their *Repertorium* printed at *Venice* in the Year 1588, who to shew his critical Learning, saith, the Word *Hæreticus*, according to some, is compounded of *Error* and *Recto*; because an *Heretick* errs from what is right: According to others it is derived from *Ercisor*, which signifies to divide; and according to some it comes from *Adhæreo*, because it is one's adhering obstinately to an Error, that makes him an *Heretick*. And with the same Stock of Learning it was, that another *Inquisitor* proved from St. Paul's Words, *Hæreticum devita*, that *Christians* were commanded to deprive *Hereticks* of their *Lives*.

The *Secretary* writes down whatever is said judicially in the Inquisition.

The *Advocate Fiscal* prosecutes the Prisoner with his utmost Skill and Diligence to convict him of *Heresy*.

The

The *Treasurer* has the Estate and all the Goods of the Prisoner put into his Hands, when the Prisoner is apprehended.

The *Familiars* are the *Bayliffs* of the *Inquisition*; which tho' it is a vile Office in all other Criminal Courts, is esteemed so honourable in this of the *Inquisition*, that there is not a Nobleman in the Kingdom that is not in it, and who are commonly employ'd by the *Inquisitors* to apprehend People: Neither is it any wonder, that Persons of the highest Quality desire to be thus employ'd, since the same plenary Indulgence is by the Pope granted to every single Exercise of this Office: as was granted by the *Lateran Council* to those that succoured the *Holy Land*.

The *Goalers* are directed by the *Inquisitors* how to dispose of, and how to treat their Prisoners, and are straitly charged not to give, nor to suffer them to have any manner of Intelligence.

The *Inquisitors* and all their Officers take an Oath, not to discover any thing that is said or done within the Walls of the *Inquisition* to any Person whatsoever, neither is there any thing more severely punished

nished by this Court, than the Violation of that Oath.

And whereas the Popes having thus appointed Inquisitors to be the Judges of Heresy, was a great Incroachment on the Episcopal Jurisdiction, which the Papal, ever since it pretended to be Monarchical, has sought by a thousand ways to lessen; the Popes, to make this Encroachment go down the easier, allowed two Privileges to the Bishops; the one was, that the Inquisitors should not have Authority to imprison a Bishop: And the other was, that before they condemned any Person as a *Heretick*, they should send to the Bishop of the Place, to concur with them in that *Sentence*; which two *Constitutions*, though they are still in Force, are of little Benefit to the Bishops; who though they may not be imprisoned upon Suspicion of *Heresy* by the *Inquisitors*, may be confined to their Houses by them, until they have inform'd the *Pope*, as the *Archbishop* of *Toledo* was in the Reign of *Philip II.* And if the Bishop, when he is acquainted with the Process of the Prisoner, should refuse to agree to his being condemned, the *Inquisitors* may pass *Sentence* notwithstanding; for in this, as in all other Cases, the *Divine Authority* of *Bishops*, when it happens to clash with the *Papal*, must still give way to it.

The

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The Court of Inquisition proceeds summarily, and most commonly upon a Denunciation, which does not, like an Accusation, disable the Person that makes it to be a Witness; and to denounce the Inquisition forceth all that can do it by *Edicts* in the Form following.

TO all and singular Christians, as well Ecclesiasticks as Laicks of both Sexes, of whatsoever Degree, Order, Condition, Pre-eminence, Dignity, or Authority, the highest not excepted. Know ye that we, by the Series and Tenor of these Presents, and by our Authority, and by that of the Office we execute here, do charge and command, That within twelve Days after the Publication hereof, the first four of which are to be as the first, and the next four as the second, and the last four as a peremptory and third Canonical Admonition; all that do know or suspect any of Heresy, to come and inform against them, upon Pain of the greater Excommunication, *latæ Sententiæ*, and which shall be ipso facto incurred, and from which they cannot be absolved by any, but by our Lord the Pope or by us: And we do further certify, That whosoever, despising the Penalty of this Excommunication, shall forbear to inform us, shall moreover be proceeded against as a Favourer of Hereticks.

If

If the Informer, when he comes in, names any Witnesses besides himself, they are sent for privately, and before they are examined, do take an Oath, not to discover to any Person their having been with the Inquisitors, nor to speak of any thing they said, saw or heard within that Court.

All People, though never so infamous, and though they stand convicted of Perjury, are *in Favour of the Faith*, and in *Detestation of Hereticks*, admitted by the Inquisition to be Witnesses, mortal Enemies only excepted.

This Exception is of little Benefit to the Prisoner, by reason of his not knowing who they are that have informed and witnessed against him.

The Depositions of the Informer, and Witnesses, if their be any, being thus privately taken, a Familiar is sent for, and being come, he has the following Order put into his Hand.

B*T the Command of the Reverend Father N. an Inquisitor of Heretical Pravity, let N. be apprehended, and committed to the Prisons of this Holy Office, and out of which he shall not be released, but by the express Order of the said Reverend Inquisitor.*

I

If

If several Persons are to be taken up at the same time, the *Familiars* are commanded so to order things, that they may know nothing of one another's being apprehended; and at this the *Familiars* are so expert, that a Father and his three Sons and three Daughters, who lived together at the same House, were all carried Prisoners to the Inquisition, without knowing any thing of one another's being there, until seven Years afterwards, when they that were alive came forth in an *Act of the Faith*.

The Prisoner being apprehended and carried with all possible Secrecy to the Inquisition, is delivered to the *Goaler*.

The Prisons of the Inquisition are little dark Rooms, and which have no other Furniture but a hard Quilt, and a useful Pot: The Prisoners are not suffered to see any Person besides their Keeper, who brings them their Diet, and with it a lighted Lamp, which burns about half an Hour; neither must their Keeper, without Leave from the Inquisitors, entertain any Discourse with them.

After the Prisoner has spent two or three Days and Nights in his melancholy Apartment, he is carried by his Keeper before the Inquisitors; who, before they ask him a Question, make him take an Oath to return true Answers to all their Interrogatories; and

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and if he has ever been guilty of any *Heresy*, to confess it to them.

The first Question the Prisoner is asked, is, *Whether he knows why he was taken up by the Inquisition?* and if he answers, *That he does not know*; he is then asked, *Whether he knows for what Crimes the Inquisition useth to imprison People?* if he answers, *For Heresy*, he is admonished upon the Oath he has taken, to confess all his *Heresies*, and to discover all his Teachers and Complices: If the Prisoner denies that he ever held any *Heresy*, or had ever any Communication with any *Hereticks*, he is gravely told, *That the holy Office does not use to imprison People rashly or without having good Grounds for what they do, and that therefore he would do well to confess his Guilt, and that therather, because the Holy Office, contrary to the Custom of all other Courts, is severe to those that deny, but merciful to all that confess their Guilt.*

If the Prisoner persists in denying, that he ever held any *Heresies*, his Goaler is called in, and commanded to carry him back to the Place from whence he came; and the Prisoner is admonished strictly to examine his own Conscience, that the next time they send for him, he may be prepared to make true and full Confession of all his *Heresies, Teachers, and Complices*: The Prisoner

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soner having been allowed two or three Days more to do this in, he is brought before the Inquisitors a second time, and is asked, *Whether he comes prepared to confess; and if he answers, That he cannot without accusing himself or others falsely, make any such Confession as they desire of him; they do then ask him, where he was born, and what his Parents were, and where he went to School, and who were his School-masters, and where he has lived all his time; and with whom he has conversed most, and who has been his Confessor; and when he was last at Confession, and at the Sacrament?* with twenty more such Questions: And being told, *That they have sufficient Proof of his being a Heretick;* they command him, since he cannot repent of his *Heresies*, unless he confesseth them all, to go back to his Prison, and there pray to God for Grace to dispose him to make a true and full Confession to the saving of his Soul, which is all they seek after: And being again allowed two or three Days to pray, and consider on what the Inquisitors have said to him, he is brought before them a third time; and in case he persists in pleading, Not guilty, then asked some Questions concerning the *Heretical Doctrines* he stands charged withal: For example, *Whether he believes Christ to be bodily present in*
the

the Sacrament, and that it is lawful to adore Images, and to pray to Saints and Angels? And if he affirms, That he did always firmly believe these, and all the other Doctrines of the Roman Church; he is asked, If he always believed these Doctrines, how he came to speak against them; and if he denies that he ever did, he is then told, That since he is so obstinate in his Heresies, of which they have a sufficient Proof before them, they will order their Advocate Fiscal to form his Process, and to convict him of them. But in case the Inquisitors have not sufficient Evidence, notwithstanding, to draw a Confession from the Prisoner, they have told him oftner than once, That they had; they then fall a Note lower, and tell the Prisoner, That though they may not have sufficient Proof of his Heretical Words and Actions to convict him of them, that yet they have sufficient to put him on the Rack to make him confess them: And having fixed the Day when he is to undergo the Tortures, he, when that dismal Day comes, if he does not prevent it by such a Confession as is expected from him, is led to the Place where the Rack is, attended by an Inquisitor, and a publick Notary, who is to write down the Answers the Prisoner returns to the Questions which shall be put to him by the Inquisitor, whilst he is upon

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the Rack: During the time the Executioner is preparing that Engine of unspeakable Cruelty, and is taking off the Prisoner's Clothes to his Shirt and Drawers, the Inquisitor is still exhorting the Prisoner to have Compassion both on his Body and Soul, and by making a true and full Confession of all his *Heresies*, to prevent his being tortured: But if the Prisoner saith, That he will suffer any thing, rather than accuse himself or others falsely, the Inquisitor commands the Executioner to do his Duty, and to begin the Torture; which in the Inquisition is given by twisting a small Cord hard about the Prisoner's naked Arms, and hoisting him up from the Ground by an Engine to which the Cord is fastned: And, as if the miserable Prisoner's hanging in the Air by his Arms were not Torment enough, he has several Quassations or Shakes given him; which is done by screwing his Body up higher, and letting it down again with a Jirk, which disjoints his Arms, and after that the Torture is much more exquisite than it was before.

When the Prisoner is first hoisted from the Ground, an Hour-glass is turned up, and which if he does not prevent it by making such a Confession of his *Heresies* as the Inquisitor that is present all the while, and is continually asking him Questions, expects from

from him, must run out before he is taken down; to promise to make such a Confession, if they will take him off the Rack, not being sufficient to procure him that Mercy, no more than his crying out that he shall expire immediately, if they do not give him some Ease; that, as the Inquisitors tell us, being no more than all that are upon their Rack do think they are ready to do.

If the Prisoner endures the Rack without confessing any thing, which few, or none, though never so innocent, are able to do; so soon as the Hour-glass is out, he is taken down, and carried back to his Prison, where there is a Chirurgeon ready to put his Bones in joint. And though in all other Courts, the Prisoners having endured the Rack without confessing the Crimes for which they were Tortured, clears them, and makes void all the Evidence that was against him, yet in the Inquisition, where whatsoever Humanity and right Reason have established in Favour of the Prisoner, is left to the Discretion of the Judge, it is commonly otherwise; the Prisoners that will not confess any thing, being usually racked twice; and if they stand it out, tho' few of them can do that, thrice.

But if the Prisoner makes the Confession the Inquisitor expects he should on the Rack, it is writ down Word for Word by

the Notary, and is, after the Prisoner has had a Day or two's rest, carry'd to the Prisoner, to set his Hand to it, which if the Prisoner does, it puts an End to his Process, the want of sufficient Evidence to have convicted him being abundantly supply'd by this extorted Confession, thus signed by him: But in case the Prisoner, when it is brought to him, refuseth to sign it, affirming it to be false, and to have been extorted from him by the Extremity of the Torture, he is then carried to the Rack a second time, to oblige him to repeat and sign the same Confession.

It is a very hard matter for any one that is a Prisoner in the Inquisition for Heresy, to escape the Rack, since neither the professing and maintaining the Doctrines to be true wherewith he is charged, nor the denying of them, can secure him from it; the first being commonly racked, to make them discover their Teachers and Accomplices; and the second to oblige them to confess their own Guilt; and if a Prisoner does confess his having spoke some heretical Words, but to save his Estate stands in his having spoke them rashly, and in a Passion, without an heretical Mind, he is racked to make him discover whether it was so or not, or whether his Thoughts were not the same with his Words. If a Pri-

Prisoner either makes no Confession at all, or does not confess the particular heretical Words or Facts wherewith he stands charged, and with which the Inquisitors will never acquaint him; he is asked whether he has any thing besides his denial to offer in his own Defence, and if he has, to make use of it: For now the Advocate Fiscal, upon their having Evidence enough against him, is ordered to form his Process. Here, if the Prisoner alledgeth, that unless they will be pleased to let him know the particular heretical Words or Facts he stands charged withal, and who the Persons are that have informed and witnessed against him, that it will not be possible for him to make any Defence; he is told, that cannot be done, because, to let him know the particular heretical Words or Facts might lead him to the Knowledge of the Informers and Witnesses; who, by the fundamental Law of the Inquisition, must never either directly or indirectly be discovered to him.

Now for this singular and inhuman Custom of not letting their Prisoners know the particular Facts they stand charged withal, nor who they are that have informed and witnessed against them, the Inquisitors have nothing to say, but that it is necessary to the Security of the Lives of the Accusers and Witnesses, which, if they

were known, would be in so great Danger, that none would dare to venture to inform or bear Witness against Hereticks in their Court. Which Pretence, though it might have some Ground, when Courts of Inquisition were first erected, no City, no not *Rome* it self, having submitted quietly to them when they were first introduced; it is now notorious to all the World, and to none more than to the Inquisitors themselves, that it is altogether groundless, and especially in *Spain* and *Portugal*, where the Inquisition is not only established by Law, but by a wonderful Fascination is so fixed in the Hearts and Affections of the People, that one that should offer the least Affront to another, for having been an Informer or Witness in the Inquisition, would be torn in a thousand Pieces; and did the Prisoners that have been in the Inquisition but know certainly, who the Persons were that had informed and witnessed against them, they durst not for their Lives speak one Word against them, or shew them the less Respect on that account.

Now for a Court to continue a Custom so singularly unjust and cruel, and upon a Pretence all the World knows to be altogether groundless, is a Confidence not to be matched any where, that I know of.

Inquisition in Portugal, &c. 401

The Prisoner being thus deny'd the Knowledge of the Things and Persons without which it is scarce possible for him, tho' never so innocent, to make any Defence, he is notwithstanding that graciously asked, by the Inquisitors, whether he desires to have an Advocate and Proctor to help him to make it: If the Prisoner saith he would, he is not to name them, but must take those the Inquisitors shall appoint, and who before they have seen their Client, must take the following Oath.

J. N. *Doctor of both Laws, do in the Presence of the Lords Inquisitors of this Place against heretical Pravity, having my Hand on the holy Gospel of God, promise and swear sincerely and faithfully to defend and maintain the Cause of N. a Prisoner, in the Prisons of this holy Office, who stands accused and impeached for Causes mentioned in its Acts; but so as not to use any Trick or Cavil, or to instruct my said Client how to conceal the Truth in Judgment: And I do farther promise and swear, That if I shall by any way discover my said Client to be guilty of the Crime or Crimes wherewith he stands charged, that I will thereupon immediately dismiss his Cause; and if by having searched narrowly into his Case, I shall discover that he has had Complices*

in his Heresies, that I will inform against them to this holy Office : All which I do promise upon Pain of Perjury, and of an Excommunication, from which I cannot be absolved by any but by this holy Office. So help me God, and these holy Gospels.

The same Oath is taken by the Prisoner's Proctor, as the Inquisitors call him, tho' in Truth, both he and the Advocate are the Inquisitors Engines, made use of to fish what they can out of the Prisoner against himself and his Friends rather than any thing else.

The Prisoner being thus fitted with an Advocate and Proctor, and who are not suffered to know any thing more of his Accusers, and of the Witnesses against him, than he himself knows ; he is asked by them whether he would have any Questions put by the Inquisitors to those that have informed and witnessed against him, or would have them examined upon any Points : And in case the Prisoner furnisheth his Advocate with any such Questions or Points, they are put by him into Form, and delivered to the Inquisitors.

The Prisoner is asked also whether he has any Witnesses of his Orthodoxy ; and if he names any, they are sent for, and heard by the Inquisitors : And as these Witnesses do go to the Inquisition with
trem-

trembling Hearts, so they are extremely cautious, not to say any thing concerning the Prisoner, that shall imply their having lived in any Intimacy with him, for fear of bringing themselves under a Suspicion of Heresy: and by the Laws of the Inquisition, no Relation of the Prisoner's within the fourth Degree can be a Witness for him. When the Prisoner's Advocate and Proctor are dismissed, they take an Oath that they have no Copy of the Defence the Prisoner made for himself, and that they shall never speak of it to any Person whatever, neither is the Prisoner ever suffered to see the Depositions of his own fearful Witnesses, no more than the Depositions of those that are against him.

Beside the forementioned, there is another common Process in the Inquisition, which is against those that have murder'd themselves, or died a natural Death in their Prisons. The Process against the first is short; his having murdered himself being judged such an Evidence of his Guilt as is sufficient to convict him of the Heresies wherewith he was charged: The Process against the second is carry'd on by the Advocate Fiscal in the same manner as it would have been, had the Prisoner been alive; and the Prisoner's Relations and Friends, or any other that have any thing to offer in Defence of the deceased,

ceased, are by a publick Edict summon'd to appear before the Inquisitors within forty Days, to give their Evidence; and if upon this Summons none do appear to offer any thing in Vindication of the deceased, as I believe few are ever so hardy as to do, the deceased, after the Expiration of that Term of Days, is acquitted, or condemned, in the same manner that he would have been had he been alive; and if he is condemned, his whole Estate is forfeited, and his Body and Effigies are burnt at the next Act of the Faith, as are the Bodies and Effigies of those that had murdered themselves.

But the Power of the Inquisition extends not only to those that died in its Prisons, but to the Bodies, Estates and Good Names of all that after their Decease shall be convicted of having died Hereticks: and tho' as to the Estates of those that are convicted of having dy'd Hereticks, they can go no farther than forty Years; as to the taking of their Bones out of their Graves and burning them, and the depriving them of their good Name, there is no Limitation of Time. When a competent Number of Prisoners are convicted of Heresy, either by their own voluntary, or extorted Confession, or upon the Evidence of certain Witnesses, a Day is fixed by the chief Inquisitor for a Jayl Delivery, which is called by them an
Act

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Act of the Faith, and which is always upon a Sunday. In the Morning of the Day the Prisoners are all brought into a great Hall, where they have the Habits put on, they are to wear in the Procession, which begins to come out of the Inquisition about nine of the Clock in the Morning.

The first in the Procession are the *Dominican* Friars, who carry the Standard of the Inquisition, which on the one side hath their Founder, *Dominic's* Picture, and on the other side a Cross, betwixt an Olive Tree and a Sword, with this Motto, *Justitia & Misericordia*; Next after the *Dominicans* come the Penitents, some with *Benitoes*, and some without, according to the Nature of their Crimes; they are all in black Coats without Sleeves, and barefooted, with a Wax Candle in their Hand; next comes the Penitents who have narrowly escap'd being burnt, who over their black Coat have Flames painted, with their Points turned downward, to signify their having been saved, but so as by Fire; this Habit is call'd by the *Portuguese*, *Fengo revolto*, or Flames turn'd upside down: Next come the Negative and Relapsed that are to be burnt, with Flames upon their Habit, pointing upwards, and next come those who profess Doctrines contrary to the Faith of the *Roman* Church, and who besides Flames on their

their Habit pointing upward, have their Picture, which is drawn two or three Days before upon their Breasts, with Dogs, Serpents, and Devils, all with open Mouths painted about it.

Pegna, a famous *Spanish* Inquisitor, calls this Procession, *horrendum ac tremendum Spectaculum*; and so it is in truth, there being something in the Looks of all the Prisoners, besides those that are to be burnt, that is ghastly and disconsolate, beyond what can be imagined; and in the Eyes and Countenance of those that are to be burnt there is something that looks fierce and eager.

The Prisoners that are to be burnt alive, besides a Familiar, which all the rest have, have a Jesuit on each hand of them, who are continually preaching to them, to abjure their Heresies; but if they offer to speak any thing in Defence of the Doctrines they are going to suffer Death for professing, they are immediately gagg'd, and not suffer'd to speak a Word more.

This I saw done to a Prisoner, presently after he came out of the Gates of the Inquisition, upon his having look'd up to the Sun, which he had not seen before in several Years; and cry'd out in a Rapture; *How is it possible for People that behold that glorious Body, to worship any Being but him that*

Inquisition in Portugal, &c. 407

that created it? After the Prisoners come a Troop of *Familiars* on Horseback, and after them the Inquisitors, and other Officers of the Court upon Mules; and last of all comes the *Inquisitor General* upon a white Horse, led by two Men, with a black Hat, and a green Hatband, and attended by all the Nobles, that are not employ'd as *Familiars* in the Procession.

In the *Terreiro de Paco*, which may be as far from the Inquisition as *White-hall* is from *Temple-bar*, there is a Scaffold erected, which may hold two or three thousand People; at the one End sit the *Inquisitors*, and at the other End the Prisoners, and in the same Order as they walked in the Procession, those that are to be burnt being seated on the highest Benches behind the rest, and which may be ten Foot above the Floor of the *Scaffold*.

After some Prayers, and a Sermon, which is made up of Encomiums on the Inquisition, and Investives against Hereticks, a Secular Priest ascends a Desk, which stands near the middle of the Scaffold, and who having first taken all the Abjurations of the Penitents who kneel before him, one by one in the same Order they walked in the Procession, at last he recites the final Sentence of the Inquisition upon those that are to be put to Death, in the Words following.

We,

' **W**E, the Inquisitors of heretical Pra-
 ' vity, having, with the Concur-
 ' rence of the most illustrious N. Lord
 ' Archbishop of *Lisbon*, or of his Deputy,
 ' N. called on the Name of the Lord Jesus
 ' Christ, and of his glorious Mother the Vir-
 ' gin *Mary*, and sitting on our Tribunal, and
 ' judging, with the Holy Gospels lying before
 ' us, that so our Judgment may be in the
 ' Sight of God, and our Eyes might behold
 ' what is just in all matters betwixt the
 ' magnifick Doctor N. *Advocare Fiscal* on
 ' the one Part, and you, N. now before
 ' us on the other, we have ordained, that
 ' in this Place, and on this Day you should
 ' receive your definitive Sentence.

' We do therefore by this our Sentence
 ' put in Writing, define, pronounce, declare,
 ' and sentence thee, N. of the City of *Lisbon*,
 ' to be a convicted, confessing, affirmative, and
 ' professed Heretick, and to be delivered, and left
 ' by us as such, to the Secular Arm; and we by
 ' this our Sentence do cast thee out of the Ecclesi-
 ' astical Court, as a convicted, confessing, affir-
 ' mative and professed Heretick, and we do leave
 ' and deliver thee to the Secular Arm, and to
 ' the Power of the Secular Court; but at the
 ' same time do most earnestly beseech that Court
 ' so to moderate its Sentence, as not to touch
 ' thy Blood, or to put thy Life in any Danger.

Is

Is there in all History an Instance of so gross and confident Mockery of God and the World, as this of the Inquisitors earnestly beseeching the Civil Magistrates not to put the Heretick they have condemned, and delivered to them, to Death? For were they in earnest when they make this solemn Petition to the Secular Magistrates, why do they bring their Prisoners out of the Inquisition, and deliver them to those Magistrates, in Coats painted over with Flames? why do they teach, that all Hereticks, above all other Malefactors, ought to be punished with Death? and why do they never resent the Secular Magistrates having so little Regard to their earnest and joint Petition, as never to fail to burn all the Hereticks which are delivered to 'em by the Inquisition, within an Hour or two after they have them in their Hands? And why in *Rome*, where the Supreme, Civil, and Ecclesiastical Authority are lodged in the same Person, is this Petition of the Inquisition, which is made there as well as in other Places, never granted? Certainly, not to take any notice of the old Canon, which forbids the Clergy to have any hand in the Blood of any Person whatsoever, would be a much less Dishonour to the Inquisition, than to pretend to go on, observing

ing that Canon, by making a Petition which is known to be so contrary to their Principles and Desires.

The Prisoners are no sooner in the Hands of the Civil Magistrate, than they are loaded with Chains, and before the Eyes of the Inquisitors; and being carried first to the Secular Goals, are within an Hour or two brought from thence before the Lord Chief Justice; who, without knowing any thing of their particular Crimes, or of the Evidence that was against them, asks 'em one by one, *In what Religion they do intend to die?* If they answer, that they will die in the Communion of the *Roman Church*, they are condemned by him, *To be carried forthwith to the Place of Execution, and there to be first strangled, and afterwards burnt to Ashes:* But if they say, *They will die in the Protestant*, or in any other Faith that is contrary to the *Roman*, they are then sentenced by him, *To be carry'd forthwith to the Place of Execution, and there to be burnt alive.*

At the Place of Execution, which at *Lisbon* is the *Ribera*, there are so many Stakes set up as there are Prisoners to be burnt, with a good quantity of dry Furz about them: *The Stakes of the Profess'd*, as the Inquisitors call them, may be about four Yards high, and have a small Board whereon the Prisoner is to be seated, within half a Yard of their

top; the Negative and Relapsed being first strangled and burnt; the *Profest* go up a Ladder betwixt the two Jesuits which have attended them all Day, and when they are come even with the forementioned Board, they turn about to the People, and the Jesuits do spend near a quarter of an Hour in exhorting the *Profest* to be reconciled to the Church of *Rome*; which if the *Profest* refuse to be, the Jesuits come down, and the Executioner ascends, and having turned the *Profest* off the Ladder upon the Seat, and chained their Bodies close to the Stake, he leaves them, and the Jesuits go up to them a second time, to renew their Exhortation to them, and at parting tell them, *That they leave them to the Devil, who is standing at their Elbow to receive their Souls, and carry them with him into the Flames of Hell Fire, so soon as they are out of their Bodies.* Upon this a great Shout is raised, and as soon as the Jesuits are off the Ladders, the cry is, *Let the Dogs Beards, Let the Dogs Beards be made,* which is done by thrusting flaming Furzes fastened to a long Pole against their Faces; and this Inhumanity is commonly continued until their Faces are burnt to a Coal; and is always accompanied with such loud Acclamations of Joy as are not to be heard upon any other occasion; a Bull Feast, or a Farce being

dull Entertainments to the using of a profess'd Heretick thus inhumanly.

The *Profests Beards having been thus made*, as they call it in Jolliry, Fire is set to the Furz which are at the Bottom of the Stake, and above which the *Profest* are chained so high, that the top of the Flame seldom reacheth higher than the Seat they sit upon: and if there happen to be a Wind, and to which that Place is much exposed, it seldom reacheth so high as their Knees: So that though there be a calm the *Profest* are commonly dead in about half an Hour after the Furz is set on fire; yet if the Weather prove windy, they are not after that dead in an Hour and a half, or two Hours, and so are really roasted, and not burnt to Death: But tho' out of Hell there cannot possibly be a more lamentable Spectacle than this, being joined with the Sufferers, so long as they are able to speak, crying out, *Misericordia por Amor de Dios, Mercy for the Love of God*; yet it is beheld by People of both Sexes, and of all Ages, with such Transports of Joy and Satisfaction, as are not on any other occasion to be met with.

And that the Reader may not think that this inhuman Joy may be the Effect of a natural Cruelty that is in those People's Disposition, and not of the Spirit of their
Reli-

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Religion, he may rest assured, that all publick Malefactors, besides Hereticks, have their violent Deaths no where more tenderly lamented, than among the same People, and even when there is nothing in the manner of their Deaths that appears inhuman or cruel.

Within a few Days after the Execution, the *Pictures* of all that have been burnt, and which were taken off their Breast when they were brought to the Stake, are hung up in *St. Domingo's Church*, whose West End, tho' very high, is all covered over with these *Trophies* of the Inquisition hung up there in Honour to *Dominic*, who, to fulfil his Mother's Dream, was the first Inventor of that Court: *Dominic's* Mother, when she was ready to be brought to Bed of him, having dream'd that she was delivered not of a human Creature, but of a fierce Dog, with a burning Torch in his Mouth.

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CONFIDENTIAL

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

second, a Native and Independent of the
Nation of Indians, a Farmer of the Re-

A

L I S T

Of the Persons who received their Sentences in the Act of the *Faith*, celebrated in the City of *Lisbon*, on the 10th of *May*, 1682.

Men that died in the Prisons, and were absolved.

D *Iogo de Chaves*, a new Christian, a Farmer of the Revenue, and a professed Knight of a certain military Order, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.

Simaon Roiz Chavez, a new Christian, a Man of Business, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.

Antonio Nunnes de Royga, a new Christian, a Batchelor, a professed Knight of a certain military Order, the Son of *Sebastian Nunnes de Lisboa*, a Farmer of the Revenue, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.

Bernardo de Souza, who was of no Calling, a Native of the Town of *Montemor velho*, in the Bishoprick of *Conimbra*, and an Inhabitant of this City.

Luis de Silva de Menezes, part of a *New Christian*, who lived upon his Estate, a Native of the City of *Evora*, and Inhabitant of the Town of *Aveiro*.

Manoel da Costa, a *New Christian*, a Merchant and Native of the City of *Leyria*, and an Inhabitant of this of *Lisbon*.

Persons who did not abjure.

Antonio Pereira, A *New Christian*, a Merchant, a Native of the Town of *Chasim*, in the Bishoprick of *Miranda*, and Inhabitant of this City, for having sworn falsely before the Tribunal of the *Holy Office*, in Matters of the *Faith*; aged fifty four Years.

Three Years at Castro Marim.

Simaon Henriques a *New Christian*, who was a Farmer of the Revenue, Native and Inhabitant of this City, who abjured *de vehemente*, for the Crimes of *Judaism*, in an *Act of the Faith*, celebrated there-

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in in the Year 1656. imprisoned a second time for having relapsed into the same; aged seventy five Years.

Five Years in Brazil.

Manoel Dos Santos Annes, who has no Calling, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Santarem*, for having feigned himself a Familiar of the *Holy Office*, and in the name of the said Tribunal, testify'd the Clearness of the Blood of certain Persons, having accepted of Money from some for the said Effect; aged twenty six Years.

For Sodomy.

Salvador Veira, a Merchant, Native and Inhabitant of the Village of *Amoro*, in the County of the Town of *Almada*, *Negative*; aged thirty Years.

Five Years in Brazil.

Antonio de Olivero, a Taylor, a Batchelor, the Son of *Manoel de Olivero*, who was a Wine-merchant in the Village of *Bellem*, in the County of this City, convicted, confesseth, and was the Patient; aged eighteen Years.

To be Whipped, and to be Three Years in the Gallies.

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Manoel

418 *A View of the Court of*

Manoel Baijaon, a Carpenter, a Batchelor, the Son of *Manoel Roiz*, a Carrier, a Native and Inhabitant of the Village of *Bellem*, in the County of this City, convicted, confesseth, and was the Patient, aged twenty Years.

The same.

Domingo Lopez, a Batchelor, and Footman, the Son of *Pedro Lopez*, a Labourer, Native of the Parish of *St. Pedro di Adais*, in the County and Village of *Guimaraon*, Inhabitant of this City, convicted, confesseth, and was the Patient; aged Twenty three Years.

The same and five Years in the Gallies.

Joseph Gomez, a Taylor, a Batchelor, the Son of *Miguel Gomez*, Native of the Parish of *Sileiro*, in the County of *Guimarains*, and Inhabitant of this City, convicted, confesseth, and was the Patient; aged nineteen Years.

The same and ten Years in the Gallies.

Manoel Machado Nogueira, a Batchelor, a Schoolmaster of Children, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Porlodemos*, and Inhabitant of this City, convicted,

con-

Inquisition in Portugal, &c. 419

confesseth, and was the Agent; aged thirty seven Years.

The same and ten Years in the Gallies.

Abjuration de Leve.

Antonio Laurencio de Almada, a Soldier of the Regiment of *Algarves*; Native of the City of *Faro*, and Inhabitant of *Spirito Santo*, in the State of *Brazil*, for having married twice, his first Wife being alive; aged forty five Years.

Prison during Pleasure, Whipping, and five Years in the Gallies.

Francisco Antunes, a Labourer of the Village of *Fernaon Foam*, in the County of the City of *Guarda*, and Inhabitant of *Rapoila*, of the said Bishoprick, for the said Fault.

The same.

Joan de Conto Toledo, who has no Calling, Native of the Town of *Praya*, in the Island of *Tercera*, and Inhabitant of *Sanctos*, under the Government of the *Rio de Janeiro*, for the said Fault; aged thirty four Years.

The same.

Manoel

Manoel Nunes, a Taylor, Native of the Village of *Quintaon dos Gallegos*, in the County of the City of *Guarda*, and Inhabitant of the Hamlet of *Mauracaon*, of the said City, for the said Fault; aged thirty five Years.

The same.

Manoel Forge, a Seaman, Native of the Island of *Pico* and Inhabitant of this City, for the same fault; aged forty six Years.

The same.

Manoel de Almeyda, a Taylor, Native and Inhabitant of the Village of *Gadafacon* in the Bishoprick of *Guarda*, for the said fault; aged thirty seven Years.

The same, and seven Years in the Gallies.

Alvaro Colaco, a Batchelor, and who was a Soldier, a Native, and Inhabitant of the Town of *Lourinhan*, and who, as it is presumed, did deny the Faith, and go over to the Sect of the *Moors*; aged forty three Years.

Prison during Pleasure, and Three Years in the Gallies.

Abjura-

Abjuration de Vehemente.

Manoel dos Anios, an Old Christian, a Bachelor, and has no Calling, the Son of *Matheas Correa*, a Labourer, a Native and Inhabitant of the Village of *Alagoada*, in the Island of *Gracioza*, for having taken some consecrated Crumbs out of the Sacratory of a certain Church; aged thirty Years.

The same and to be Whipped, and be three Tears in the Gallies.

Manoel Joan, a Batchelor, and Barber, the Son of *Francisco Joan*, a Labourer, Native of the City of *St. Luis*, in the State of *Marignaeon*, for the Faults of Witchcraft, and for Presumption of his having made a Covenant with the Devil; aged thirty six Years.

The same.

Agostino Roiz de Oliviero, a Painter, Native of this City, and Inhabitant of *Torresnoves*, for having spoke Heretical, Rash, Scandalous, Injurious, and to pious Hearers, offensive Propositions, against our Lord and his most Holy Images; aged thirty two Years.

The same, and three Tears in the Gallies.

Joan

422 *A View of the Court of*

Joan Vas, a Batchelor, and who was a Soldier, the Son of *Simaon Vas*, a Labourer, Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Abrantes*, for the said Fault; aged thirty five Years.

The same and seven Tears in the Gallies.

Abjuration for Judaism de Vehemente.

Luis de Mattos Couto, a New Christian, who lived upon his own Estate, a Native of this City, and Inhabitant in the Government of *Spirito Santo*, in the State of *Brazil*; aged fifty one Years.

Prison during Pleasure.

Pedro Roiz da Maya, a New Christian, Native and Inhabitant of this City; aged fifty seven Years.

The same.

Jasper Francisco, a New Christian, a Native and Inhabitant of this City; aged forty eight Years.

The same.

Estavaon da Par Moreno, a New Christian, who lived on his own Estate, a Native, and Inhabitant of the Town of *Alchacere*; aged sixty two Years.

The same.

Pedro

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Pedro Cardozo, a *New Christian*, a Skinner, and Batchelor, a Native and Inhabitant of the said Town; aged forty five Years.

The same.

Vasco Francisco Azietado, a *New Christian*, who was a Soldier, the Son of *Benjamin Gomez Azeitado* who was a Judge, Native of the Town of *Vidiguaira*, and Inhabitant of this City; aged forty two Years.

The same.

Vincente de Seixas, a *New Christian*, a Batchelor, the Son of *Manoel de Seixas* an Advocate, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Alcacere*; aged thirty three Years.

The same.

Manoel Paiz de Souza, a *New Christian*, the Son of *Manoel Lopez Paiz*, an Advocate, a Native and Inhabitant of the said Town; aged sixty seven Years.

The same.

Francisco de Almeida Negraon, a *New Christian*, who belonged to the Sea, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Pedrenero*, for the same Fault of *Judaism*,
and

424 *A View of the Court of*

and for having spoke Propositions with an Heretical Obstinacy after he had been reproved for 'em ; aged fifty five Years.

The same, and three Tears in Brazil.

Manoel Lopez de Leon, a New Christian, a Merchant, a Native of the Town of Tomar, and an Inhabitant in this City, for the same Fault of Judaism, and for having, when he was in the Prison, had Communication with Persons abroad; aged fifty two Years.

The same, and two Tears in Algarve.

A Person who wore the Habit, but did not Abjure.

Joan Alexio, a New Christian, a Merchant, Native of Montemor, in the Kingdom of Castile, an Inhabitant in Sevil, and Resident in this City, reconciled by the Church of Sevil in the Year 1672 for the Faults of Judaism; and imprisoned a second time for having relapsed into the same; aged forty eight Years.

Prison and Habit perpetual, without Remission, and five Tears in Brazil.

The Reason of this Person's not having abjured, was, because he was taken up for having relapsed, and so must have died without Mercy, had he been convicted. *Ab-*

Abjuration in Forma for Judaism.

Diego Lopez Ferraon, a New Christian, a Scrivener, Notary and Inhabitant of the Village of Fradaon, in the Hundred of the Town of Covilhan; aged thirty two Years.

Prison during Pleasure, and the Habit, which shall be taken off in the Act of Faith.

Martos Mendes, a New Christian, a Smith, a Native of the Town of Desdanh-a Nova, an Inhabitant of Fundaon, in the Hundred of Covilhan; aged forty eight Years.

The same.

Francisco Mendes, a New Christian, a Shoemaker, Native of the Town of Benamannon, an Inhabitant of the Village of Fundaon, in the Hundred of the said Town; aged fifty two Years.

The same.

Matthias Roiz, a New Christian, a Merchant, Native, and Inhabitant of Villa Real, in the Archbishoprick of Braga; aged twenty eight Years.

The same,

Anto-

Antonio Lopez Arroyijo, a New Christian, and Tobacco-Merchant, Native of the Town of *Chasim*, and Inhabitant of *Carrazedo Montenegro*, in the Hundred of the Town of *Chaves*, in the Archbishoprick of *Braga*, who abjured *de Levi* for the Fault of *Judaism*, in an Act of the Faith celebrated in the City of *Sancti-ago*, in the Year 1662, imprisoned the second time for having been defective, and for a Relapse into the same; aged forty four Years.

The same, and Habit during Pleasure.

Manoel Lopez, a New Christian, a Carrier, a Batchelor, the Son of *Pedro Lopez* an Inn-keeper, Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Arogolos* in the Archbishoprick of *Evora*; aged twenty five Years.

The same.

Joan de Santa Maria, a Moor by Nation, the Son of *Maca*, a Native of *Salle*, and Inhabitant of this City, for having returned to the *Seet of Mahomet* after he was baptiz'd a *Christian*; aged sixty two Years.

Perpetual Prison and Habit.

A Se-

A Second Abjuration.

Bernardo Sequeira, part of a *New Christian*, a Barber, Native of the City of *Lamego*, and Inhabitant of the City of *Porto*; aged thirty one Years.

The same.

Joan de Cruz, a *New Christian*, Native and Inhabitant of this City; aged thirty Years.

The same.

Pedro Alvares de Moras half a *New Christian*, a Chirurgeon, Native and Inhabitant of the City of *Elvas*; aged sixty eight Years.

The same, and 2 Tears in Craftemain.

Domingo Cardozo, part of a *New Christian*, an Officer of the *Chancery*, Native and Inhabitant of the City of *Lamego*; aged thirty five Years.

Perpetual Prison and Habit.

Gabriel Gomes, a *New Christian*, a Native and Inhabitant of *Fundaon*; aged fifty four Years.

The same.

428 *A View of the Court of*

Luis de Bulaon, half a *New Christian*, an Officer in the Court of the Crown, a Native and Inhabitant of this City; aged forty nine Years.

The same.

The Third Abjuration.

Ayres Roiz a *New Christian*, a Practitioner and Native of the City of *Guarda*, and an Inhabitant of this of *Lisbon*; aged forty one Years.

The same.

Fernaon Roiz Penco, a *New Christian*, a Farmer of the Revenue, a Native of the City of *Badayos*, in the Kingdom of *Castile*, and Inhabitant of this City; aged sixty nine Years.

The same.

Luis Serraoon, more than half a *New Christian*, a Batchelor, a Student in Divinity, the Son of *Antonio Serraoon de Crafo*, a *New Christian*, an Apothecary, a Native and Inhabitant of this City; aged thirty three Years.

The same.

Laurence de Costa, half a *New Christian*, a Dealer in Horses, the Natural Son of
Mar-

Inquisition in Portugal, &c. 429

Martin da Costa, a Farmer of the Revenues, a Native and Inhabitant of this City; aged thirty five Years.

The same.

Manoel Carralho, half a New Christian, who lived by his Practice, Native of the Town of *Cavalhaon*, in the Hundred of the City of *Garda*, an Inhabitant of this City; aged forty eight Years.

The same.

Francisco Roiz Mogadouro, a New Christian, a Batchelor, the Son of *Antonio Roiz Mogadouro*, a Native and Inhabitant of this City; aged thirty nine Years.

The same.

The Fourth Abjuration.

Antonio Serrao de Crafo, a New Christian, an Apothecary, a Native and Inhabitant of this City; aged seventy two Years.

The same.

Pantaleon Roiz Mogadouro, a New Christian, a Batchelor, the Son of *Antonio Roiz Mogadouro*, Native and Inhabitant of this City, who did profess the

E c a

Law

430 *A View of the Court of*

Law of *Moses* ; aged twenty nine Years.

The same, and to be confined to a Convent.

Pedro Duarte Ferraon, the fourth part of a *New Christian*, an Officer in the *King's Bench*, a Native and Inhabitant of this City; aged forty five Years.

Prison and Habit without Remission.

Joseph Francisco, Nick-named *Barraon*, a Batchelor, and Shepherd, the Son of *Domingo Francisco Vagado*, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Azambuija* for the Crime of Witchcraft, and for having made a Covenant with the Devil; *Perpetual Prison and Habit, and five Years in the Gallies, and to be whipped.*

Miguel da Cunha, half a *New Christian*, a Shopkeeper, a Native of the Village of *Alchaides*, in the Hundred of *Covilhan*, Inhabitant of the said Village; aged fifty three Years.

Perpetual Prison and Habit without Remission with the Ensigns of Fire, and five Years in the Gallies.

A Per-

A Person that did not abjure, and wears the Habit.

Henrique Nunes Salvador, a New Christian, and who was a Merchant, a Native of Colminar el Vigo, in the Kingdom of Castile, and an Inhabitant of Villa Flor, who was reconciled by the Inquisition of Conimbra in the Year 1652. having been twice since imprisoned for having been defective, i. e. in his Confession and for the Faults of a Relapse; aged sixty eight Years.

Perpetual Prison and Habit, without Remission, three Years in Crasto Marin, with the Ensigns of Fire.

Women that died in the Prisons, and were absolved.

Anna Lopez de Barros, a New Christian, the Widow of Manoel de Medina, a Native of the Town of Morchola, and Inhabitant of this City.

Izabel da Costa, a New Christian, the Widow of Simaon Lopez Torrez, an Advocate, a Native of this City, and an Inhabitant of the Village of Sacavom, in the Hundred of this City.

Persons who did not abjure.

Anna Roiz, nick-named *a Toupa*, married with *Manoel Roiz* a Carter, a Native and Inhabitant of *Abrantes*, for having feigned Visions, and for Presumptions of her having had a Covenant with the Devil; aged twenty seven Years.

Three Years to Crasto Marin.

Magdalena da Cruz, the Wife of *Augustino Nunes*, who was *Alchaide* of the secret Prisons of this Inquisition, a Native and Inhabitant of this City, for having cooperated to corrupt certain Officers of the Holy Office to give Intelligence to Persons in the Prisons, and to receive Answers from them to Persons that were abroad; aged forty six Years.

Five Years in the Brasil.

Juliana Pereira marry'd with *Francisco de Matos*, a Surgeon, Native of the Town of *Setuval*, and an Inhabitant of this City, for having disordered the just Regimen of the Holy Office, in having by Bribes corrupted a certain Officer of the said *Tribunal*, to reveal the Secrets thereof, to know the State of some of the Prisoners Affairs; aged fifty-eight Years.

Five Years in Angola.

Ca-

Inquisition in Portugal, &c. 433

Catherina Antonia, who has some part of a *New Christian*, the Widow of *Christo-van Roiz*, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Buarcos*, reconciled by the Inquisition of *Conimbra* in the Year 1629, imprisoned the second time for the Faults of a Relapse into *Judaism*; aged seventy nine Years.

Abjuration de Leve.

Johanna Da Paz, who has three fourths of a *New Christian*, married with *Joseph Pessoa*, a Merchant, a Native and Inhabitant of this City, for the Faults of *Judaism*, and for having co-operated in the Corruption of a certain Officer of the *Holy Office*; aged twenty eight Years.

Prison during Pleasure, and two Years in the Algarves.

Catherina Baretta, a Maid, the Daughter of *Antonio de Crasto*, a Native of *Villa Franca*, and an Inhabitant of this City, for the Faults of *Whitchcraft*; aged forty eight Years.

The same, and to be whipp'd, and four Years in Brasil.

434 *A View of the Court of*

Ursula Maria, a Maid, the Daughter of *Francisco de Salhas*, a Glass Merchant, a Native of the Town of *Albas Vedros*, and an Inhabitant of this City for the same Fault; aged thirty Years.

The same, and five Years in Brasil.

Maria Pinheira, married with *Goncalo da Gama Volante*, a Native and Inhabitant of this City, for the said Fault; aged forty one Years.

The same.

A Person who wears the Habit, but does not abjure.

Maria Cardoza, part of a *New Christian*, the Widow of *Joan Mendes* a Taylor, a Native and Inhabitant of *Montemor Novo*, in the Archbishoprick of *Evora*, reconciled by the Inquisition of the said City, for *Judaism*, in the Year 1667. imprisoned a second time for having been defective in her Confession.

An Abjuration in Forma for Judaism.

Maria Gonsalvez, nick-named *Amarintba*, part of a *New Christian*, the Daughter of *Joan Francisco* a Labourer, a Native and Inhabitant of this Village of *Majorca*,

Inquisition in Portugal, &c. 435

ca, in the Hundred of the Town of *Montemoro Velho*, in the Bishoprick of *Conimbra*; aged twenty two Years.

Prison during Pleasure, and Habit, which she is to take off in the Act.

Leonor Mendes a *New Christian*, married with *Marcos Mendes Ferron*, who is in the List, Native of *Idanha a nova*, an Inhabitant in *Fundaon*; aged thirty five Years.

The same. Prison and Habit during Pleasure.

Joanna da Paz, more than half a *New Christian*, married with *Diogo Ramos* a Native of the City of *Samora*, in the Kingdom of *Castile*, and Inhabitant in this City; aged sixty two Years.

Catarina da Costa, a *New Christian*, married with *Francisco da Rocha*, an Attorney, Native and Inhabitant of this City; aged fifty five Years.

The same.

Anna Manoela, part of a *New Christian*, a Maid, the Daughter of *Joan Lopez Cardozo*, Merchant, Native of the Village in the Kingdom of *Galliza*, and Inhabitant in *Chares*; aged twenty three Years.

The same.

Maria

436 *A View of the Court of*

Maria de Souza Chares, part of a New Christian, a Maid, the Daughter of *Salvador de Souza*, a Salt-merchant, Native of *St. Yago* in the Kingdom of *Galliza*, and an Inhabitant in *Charez*; aged twenty three years.

The same.

The Second Abjuration.

Anna Roiz, a New Christian, the Widow of *Pedro Alacia*, a Merchant, a Native of the Town of *Bonaventua*, in the Bishoprick of *Samora* in the Kingdom of *Castile*, and an Inhabitant of *Chares*; aged fifty seven years.

The same.

Izabel Borges, the fourth part of a New Christian, the Daughter of *Manoel Roiz*, a Shopkeeper, Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Montemorono*, in the Archbishoprick of *Evora*; aged twenty five Years.

The same.

Anna Maria de Souza, a New Christian, married with *George Coelho*, Native of *Sevil*, in the Kingdom of *Castile*, an Inhabitant of *Fundaon* in the Hundred of *Covilhan*; aged forty two Years.

Inquisition in Portugal. &c. 437

Perpetual Prison and Habit.

Catherino de Craſto, a *New Chriſtian*, the Widow of *Domingos da Sylva*, Native of *Sevil* in the Kingdom of *Caſtile*, and an Inhabitant in this City; aged ſixty four Years.

The ſame.

Guiomar Henriques, a *New Chriſtian*, married with *Miguel da Cunha*, who is in the Liſt a Farmer of *Taluco*, Native of the Village of *Alcaide* in the Hundred of *Covilhan*, an Inhabitant in *Fundaon* in the Hundred of the ſaid Town; aged forty nine Years.

The ſame.

Gracia de Lima, married with *Manoel Nunes* a Native and Inhabitant of *Fundaon*; aged forty five Years.

The ſame.

The Third Abjuration.

Izabel Maria, half a *New Chriſtian*, married with *Raphael da Silva*, who lived by his Practice, Native of *Sevil*, in the Kingdom of *Caſtile*, an Inhabitant of this City; aged twenty two Years.

The ſame.

438. *A View of the Court of*

Violante Henriques, a *New Christian*, the Widow of *Miguel Henriques* a Merchant, Native and Inhabitant of the Village of *Fundaon*, in the Hundred of the Town of *Covilhan*; aged forty Years.

The same.

Brittes Rebella, part of a *New Christian*, married with *Mánoel das Nevas* a Surgeon, Native and Inhabitant of the Town of *Montemoro Novo* in the Archbishoprick of *Evora*; aged fifty three Years.

The same.

Izabel Roiz, part of a *New Christian*, married with *Luis Nunez*, a Labourer, Native and Inhabitant of the Village of *Majorca*, in the Bishoprick of *Conimbra*; aged fifty nine Years.

The same.

Maria Sameda, part of a *New Christian*, a Maid, the Daughter of *Matheus Sameda*, a Notary, Native and Inhabitant of the City of *Portalegre*; aged twenty seven Years.

The same.

Maria Nunes da Costa, a *New Christian*, married with *Ayres Roiz*, who is in the

Inquisition in Portugal, &c. 439

List, Native and Inhabitant of this City;
aged forty two Years.

The same.

Francisca Serrao, half a *New Christian*,
the Widow of *Luis de Bulhao* a *Physician*, Native and Inhabitant of this City;
aged fifty five Years.

The same.

The Fourth Abjuration.

Izabel Henriquez, a *New Christian*, the
Wife of *Simon de Souza*, a Merchant,
Native of this City, and an Inhabitant
of *Fundaon*, in the Hundred of the Town
of *Covilhan*; aged sixty six Years.

The same.

Anna Pessoa, a *New Christian*, married
with *Manoel Lopez de Leon*, a Merchant,
who is in the List, a Native and Inha-
bitant of this City, for the Crime of
having co-operated in the Corruption of
a certain Officer in the *Holy Office*; aged
forty two Years.

The same, and two Tears in Algarves.

This poor Woman's Crime was, That she
bribed an Officer of the Inquisition to con-
veigh a Letter to her Husband, after he had
been a Prisoner in it above 8 Years. *Ig-*

Ignes Luiza, a *New Christian*, the Widow of *Pedro Alexio*, a Merchant, Native of the Town of *Alvito*, in the Archbishoprick of *Evora*, an Inhabitant in this City; aged seventy Years.

Perpetual Prison and Habit without Remission.

Ignes Pastana, the fourth part of a *New Christian*, a Maid, the Daughter of *Laureneo Postana*, a Farmer of the Revenue, a Native and Inhabitant of this City; aged twenty seven Years.

The same.

Constantina Navarra, a *New Christian*, married with *Joseph Roiz* a Goldsmith, Native of *Sevil*, in the Kingdom of *Castile*, and Inhabitant in this City; aged thirty two Years.

The same.

Brittees Henriques, a *New Christian* a Maid, the Daughter of *Antonio Roiz Magadauro*, a Farmer of the Revenue, a Native and Inhabitant of this City, who professed the Law of *Moses*; aged twenty six Years.

Perpetual Prison and Habit, and Reclusion in a Religious House.

This

This Gentlewoman had been 10 Years a Prisoner in the Inquisition, and so must not have been above 16 when she was taken up; she was so rack'd in it, that she was quite crippled.

Paula de Craſto, half a New Christian, married with *Antonio Duarte*, a Scrivener of the Civil Court, a Native and Inhabitant of this City; aged seventy two Years.

Perpetual Prison and Habit, and three Tears in Brazil.

Thereza Maria de Jeſus, more than half a New Christian, a Maid, the Daughter of *Antonio Serrao*, an Apothecary, who is in the Liſt, a Native and Inhabitant of this City; aged twenty ſeven Years.

The ſame, with the Enſigns of Fire, and Seven Tears in Brazil.

Women that died in the Prisons, and were received.

Ignes Duarte, half a New Christian, a Maid, the Daughter of *Antonio Serrao*, an Apothecary, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.

Isa-

Isabel do Valle, a New Christian, the Wife of *Diogo Roxes*, a Native of the Village of *Berim* in *Castile*, and Inhabitant of *Villaron* in the Hundred of *Chaves*.

The Persons delivered to the Secular Arm.

Gaspar Lopez Pereire, a New Christian, a Merchant, a Batchelor, the Son of *Francisco Lopez Pereire*, a Native of the Town of *Mogadouro*, an Inhabitant of *Madrid*, and Resident in this City of *Lisbon*, convicted, confessing, affirmative, professing the Law of *Moses*, obstinate and impenitent; aged forty three Years.

Antonio de Aguiar, a New Christian, a Merchant, a Native of *Lamilunilla*, near to *Madrid*, an Inhabitant of *Sevil*, and Resident in this City of *Lisbon*, convicted, confessing, affirmative, professing the Law of *Moses*, obstinate, impenitent; aged thirty three Years.

Miguel Henriques da Fonseca, a New Christian, an Advocate, Native of the Town of *Avios*, an Inhabitant in this City of *Lisbon*, convicted, confessing, affirmative, professing the Law of *Moses*, obstinate, impenitent; aged forty two Years.

These

These three were burnt alive, within two hours after the Inquisitors had delivered them to the *Secular Arm*.

Pedro Serraon, more than half a *New Christian*, a Batchelor, the Son of *Antonio Serraon*, an Apothecary, who is in the List, a Native, and Inhabitant of this City, convicted, negative, and obstinate; aged thirty two Years.

This last was first strangled, and afterwards burnt to Ashes with the other three.

In the year 1840, the

first census of the population of the United States was taken, and it was found that there were 1,929,927 persons in the United States at that time.

The population of the United States has since that time increased very rapidly, and in the year 1860 it was 3,929,927. In the year 1870 it was 3,929,927, and in the year 1880 it was 5,429,927.

The population of the United States is now estimated to be 6,429,927, and it is expected that it will continue to increase at the same rate for many years to come.

Myriology

The study of the history of the United States is a very interesting and important one, and it is one that should be studied by every citizen of the United States.

VOL. I. PART II.

THE
SPANISH
PROTESTANT
Martyrology.

*How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost
thou not judge and revenge our Blood
on them that dwell on the Earth?
Rev. vi. 10.*

THE

THE

PREFACTION

THE present Spanish Edition of the Preface to the English and French Editions of the "Principles of Political Economy" is the result of a long and laborious task. The author has endeavored to give the reader a full and complete view of the subject, and to show the connection between the different parts of the system. The author has also endeavored to give the reader a full and complete view of the subject, and to show the connection between the different parts of the system. The author has also endeavored to give the reader a full and complete view of the subject, and to show the connection between the different parts of the system. The author has also endeavored to give the reader a full and complete view of the subject, and to show the connection between the different parts of the system.

T H E

P R E F A C E.

THE eminent Spanish Divines that were sent by the Emperor Charles V. and his Son Philip into Germany, England and Flanders to convert the Protestants in those Countries to the Roman Faith, having by conversing with the Reformers, and reading their Books, been themselves converted to the Catholick, returned home full of Zeal to propagate that holy Faith through their native Country: and being Persons, both by their exemplary Piety, and great Learning, extremely well qualified for so great and blessed a Work; their Success in it was such, that had not a speedy and full stop been put to their pious Labours, by the merciless Inquisition, the whole Kingdom of Spain had in all likelihood been converted to the Protestant Religion in less time than any other Country had been ever before. So mightily grew the Word of God, and prevailed by the Labours of such great Men, and who had been called to the Know-
F f 3
ledge

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ledge and Love of it, after such an extraordinary manner.

And to satisfy the Reader, that I do not affirm this without good Warrant, I shall here set down what is said concerning those holy Men, by the Writer of the Historia Pontifical a zealous Papist, and by Paramus an Inquisitor, in his History of the Inquisition.

In former times, saith the Author of the *Historia Pontifical*, the Prisoners that were brought out of the Inquisition to be burnt, or with St. Benito's, were mean People, and of a bad Race: But in these latter Years we have seen its Prisons, Scaffolds and Stakes filled with illustrious Persons of noble Families, and with others, who, as to all outward Appearances, had great Advantages over their Neighbours, as well for their Learning as for their Piety. Now the Fountain of this, and of many more Evils, saith he, were our Catholick Princes, out of the great Affection which they had for Germany, England, and other Countries, that were not under the Obedience of the *Roman Church*, having sent divers learned Men and Preachers out of *Spain* into those Parts; hoping by their Sermons to have converted those that were in Error to the way of Truth; but such was their Misfortune, that instead of reaping Fruit by that

Dili-

Diligence, the Preachers that had been thus sent to them, to give Light to others, returned home blind themselves: And having either been deceived, or possess'd with an Ambition of being esteemed Learned, and of having improved themselves in those foreign Countries, they followed the Example of the *Hereticks*, who had broached Heresy in them.

And in another Place the same Author speaking of the same Persons, and of the Converts which they had made, saith, All the Prisoners in the Inquisitions of Valedolid, Sevil and Toledo were Persons abundantly well qualified. I shall here pass their Names in Silence, that I may not by their bad Fame, stain the Honour of their Ancestors, and the Nobility of the several Illustrious Families which were infected with this Poison: And as those Prisoners, saith he, were Persons thus qualified, so their Number was so great, that had the stop, which was put to that Evil, been delayed but two or three Months longer, I am persuaded all Spain had been put in a Flame by them.

And of the Disposition Spain was in at this Time, viz. betwixt the Year 1550, and 1560. to have embraced the Protestant Religion we have a farther Testimony from Paramus, who in his History of the Inquisition affirms, That had not the Inquisition taken

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care in time to have put a stop to those Protestant Preachers, the Protestant Religion would have run through Spain like *Wild-Fire*; People of all Degrees, and of both Sexes, having been wonderfully disposed to embrace it.

So powerful were the Doctrines of the Reformation in those Days, that no Prejudices nor Interests were any where strong enough to hinder piously disposed Minds, after they came thorowly to understand them, from embracing them: And that the same Doctrines have not still the same Divine Force, is neither owing to their being grown older, nor to Popery's not being so gross, nor to any change in Peoples natural Disposition, but is owing purely to the want of the same Zeal for those Doctrines in their Professors, and especially, for the three great Doctrines of the Reformation, which the following Martyrs sealed with their Blood: which were, That the Pope is Anti-Christ; That the Worship of the Church of Rome is Idolatrous, and that a Sinner is justified in the Sight of God by Faith, and through Christ's, and not through his own Merits.

There be two things the Reader of this Martyrology ought to be advertised of.

2

The

The PREFACE. 451

The one is, That no Credit is to be given to Inquisitors and their Creatures Reports of the Prisoners that are put to Death by them, since nothing is more notorious, than their reckoning it to be so far from being a Sin, that they reckon it to be meritorious, by Slanders and Calumnies, to rob all of their good Name, whom they deprive of their Lives, representing them always as such Monsters of Wickedness, that whatever their Religion had been, they had deserved for their Immoralities to have suffered Death.

*And so the vast Numbers of the Albigen-
ses were put to Death for having separated themselves from the Communion of the Ro-
man Church, on account of the Idolatry of
her Worship, the Inquisitors had the Confi-
dence to affirm, That they held it lawful
to deny the Christian Faith with their
Mouths, to avoid being persecuted for it;
they affirmed, that the Devil, having been
unjustly thrown out of Heaven, ought to
be worshipped more than God, and that
promiscuous Venery was lawful, but Ma-
trimony was Hell and Damnation; and
that the murdering of Infants, and drink-
ing of their Blood was their daily Practice
in their Assemblies of Worship.*

*And whereas the Inquisitors do in this vile
and unmanly Course imitate their Prede-
cessors,*

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cessors, the Heathen Persecutors of the Christian Faith; so, if I am not mistaken, all such Persecutors are forced to take this base Course in their own Defence; and that through the great Body of Mankind having still too much good Nature and Humanity left in them, long to suffer People whose Lives are owned to be unblamable to be tortured, and put to cruel Deaths, merely on the account of some speculative Persuasions in Religion.

The second thing the Reader of this Martyrology is to be advertis'd of, is, Not to wonder at his meeting with no Account of what was said by the following Martyrs, either at their Trials, or at their Death: For as all things within the Inquisition, where they were try'd, were transacted with a wonderful Secrecy; so if any of its Prisoners, when they are brought out to be burnt, do either in the Procession, or on the Scaffold where they receive the Sentence of Death, or at the Stake, offer to speak a Word in Defence of the Religion they are about to die for, they are immediately gag'd, and not suffer'd to speak a Word more.

And thus that Unity the Roman Church boasts of so much, is preserved by Methods which must necessarily maintain Unity in any Body of Men; For can any Society that destroys

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stroys all presently that differ from it, let its Errors be never so many, or so gross, be possibly troubled with any Divisions? And as that Pope, who on his Death-bed called the Inquisition, The Pillar of the Church of Rome. was perfectly in his Senses when he spoke these Words; so I doubt that Church will never do its bold pretence to Infallibility, which it would persuade the World is the Cause of its Unity, the Honour to try how it would maintain Unity in it, without thy help of Inquisitions, and other sanguinary Methods.

T H E

THE
SPANISH
PROTESTANT
Martyrology.

ABout the Year 1440, great Numbers of People were, at the Instigation of the Inquisitors, driven by the King's Musqueteers out of the Highlands of *Duringo* in *Biscay*, to *Valledolid* and *Domingo de Calcadar*, and who were burnt alive at those Places, for having refused to abjure divers Doctrines which are condemned as heretical by the *Roman* Church.

We are not told what the Doctrines were such Multitudes of People were thus put to death for professing; but it is more than probable, that they were the same with those of the *Vadois* among the *Alpes*; the Primitive

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tive Faith having, till about this time, been preserved entire in some mountainous and almost inaccessible Countries, by reason of their having never been before haunted by any *Popish Friars* or Inquisitors to corrupt it, or to punish its stedfast Professors with Death.

Mr. NICHOLAS BURTON.

The first that suffered Martyrdom in *Spain* for being a Protestant, that we read of, was Mr. *Nicholas Burton*, an *English* Factor, who was burnt at *Sevil* in the Reign of Queen *Mary* of *England*: Mr. *Burton's* Goods and Notes having been all seized when he was apprehended, the Merchants of *London*, to whom those Goods and Notes belonged, sent one Mr. *Frampton* to recover them, and dispose of them: But the Inquisitors, after having baffled Mr. *Frampton* for some Months with frivolous Pretences, did put a full stop to his Negotiation, by imprisoning him on Suspicion of Heresy.

Dr. AUGUSTINE CAZALLA

In the Year 1558, Dr. *Augustine Cazalla*, Canon of the Church of *Salamanca*, and who

who had been for several Years Chaplain and Preacher to the Emperor *Charles V.* in *Germany*, was taken up and imprisoned by the Inquisition of *Valledolid*, for being a Protestant; as was also his Mother *Donna Leonora de Vivera*, at whose House the Protestants used to assemble to worship God; and his three Brothers, and two Sisters, and their Servants, who had been all converted by him to the Catholick Faith; for such I do reckon the Protestant to be, for being the same with that Faith, that was protested by the whole Christian Church when the *Creeds* were made. This most pious and learned Martyr is acknowledged by *Paramus* an Inquisitor to have *been a most eloquent Preacher*: And who after having undergone all the Cruelties of the merciless Court of Inquisition, in which his Mother died, was with thirteen more, professing the *Protestant Religion*, brought forth and burnt to Ashes in an *Act of the Faith*. The Inquisitors gave out after his Death, That he had reconciled himself to the Church of *Rome* in their Prisons; which they did on purpose to prejudice his Converts against his Memory and Doctrine: For had he been penitent, why did they burn him, having never relapsed? And would it not have been more for their Interest to have suffer'd him to live, and to have obliged him to have preach-

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preached to his Converts to follow his Example, than to have burnt him out of the way?

HEREZULO.

Herezulo, a most devout and eminent Lawyer, was burnt alive at the same Time, and in the same Place with Dr. *Cazalla*, by whom he had been converted. I have nothing more to relate of this blessed Martyr, but what is said of the admirable Constancy and Courage wherewith he suffered the cruel Death of being burnt alive, by the Writer of the *Historia Pontifical*, who was present at his Martyrdom: *I was so near the Batchelor Herezulo, when he was burnt alive, saith the Writer, that I observed all his Gestures and Motions; for he could not speak, having his Mouth gag'd for the Blasphemy he had uttered against the Roman Church; he appear'd to me to be a most resolute and hardened Person; and tho' I marked him very narrowly, I did not discover the least Sign or Expression of any Uneasiness in him; only, that he had a Sadness in his Countenance, beyond any thing I had ever seen before.*

Dr.

Dr. PEREZ.

Dr. *Perez*, a Secular Priest, of great Learning, and exemplary Piety, and a most fervent Preacher, was brought out of the Inquisition, and burnt in the same Act of the Faith: Of all which glorious Martyrdoms *Charles Prince of Spain* was a Spectator; and who was afterwards privately put to death by his Father; and, as was commonly said, for his having discovered a strong Affection to the Protestant Faith.

DON CARLOS DE SESO.

At an Act of Faith celebrated not long after, by the same Court of Inquisition, *Don Carlos de Seso*, a Nobleman of an illustrious Family, with forty Protestants more, was brought out and burnt alive, professing the Protestant Religion; of whom, and of one *John Sancho*, who had been a Servant to *Don Peter Cazalla*, who was burnt at the same time with his Brother, the Writer of the *Historia Pontifical* saith, *That they endured being burnt alive with a Courage that astonished all that beheld it.*

DONNA LEONORADE CISNEROS.

Donna Leonora de Cisneros, the Widow of the blessed Martyr *Herezulo*, after several Years Imprisonment in the Inquisition of *Valledolid*, was brought out and burnt alive; which painful Death she underwent with a Courage nothing inferior to that of her Husband. Of which blessed Couple, and *Don Carlos de Seso*, the Writer of the *Historia Pontifical* saith, *That they endured being burnt alive, as if they had been made of Stone, and not of Flesh and Blood.*

Soon after the Inquisition of *Valledolid* had made this terrible Havock of the Church of God within her Districts, that of *Sevil* broke in with no less Cruelty and Fury upon the Church of God gathered in the City, by the Ministry of Dr. *Egidio*, and Dr. *Constantino*, the two great and shining Lights of *Spain*, and who before they were suspected of being Protestants, were universally acknowledged to be so.

Dr. *John Egidio* was first Rector of the University of *Complutum*, and from thence was called to be Doctor of the Chair in Divinity at *Liquensa*, where he had not been

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long before he was chose Canon and Preacher of the Cathedral Church of *Sevil* by the Dean and Chapter of that City. In all which Posts, but particularly in the last, he behaved himself so well, that he was beloved and admired for his shining Piety, his profound Learning, and great Humility, by all that knew him, and by none more than by the Emperor *Charles V.* who us'd to call him *His Preacher*; and who, in the Year 1550, bestowed *Tortosa*, one of the richest Bishopricks in all *Spain*, upon him. But before this great and holy Man was consecrated a Bishop, he was taken up by the Inquisition of *Sevil* for being a *Protestant*, and a *Teacher of that Faith*: when, or how he died in the Inquisition we know not, but it is certain that some Years after he was apprehended, his Bones were brought out and burnt in an Act of the Faith celebrated in that City, as the Bones of one who had died an impenitent *Protestant Heretick*. In a Letter writ and dated from *Trent*, on November 19, 1551. by a titular Bishop, to the Bishop of *Arras*, it is said, *We hear from Spain, that the nominated Bishop of Tortosa, meaning Doctor Egidio, is condemned by the Inquisition to perpetual Imprisonment*; I shall therefore, saith that hungry Titular, be infinitely obliged to your Lordship, if you will be pleased to remember me, in case the Bishop

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of Elna be translated to Tortosa, which is by this Means become vacant.

DON JOHN PONTIO DE LEON.

On September 24, 1559. Don John Pontio de Leon, Son to Don Rodrigo Conde of Baylen, was, with divers others, professing the Protestant Faith, burnt at Sevil: these blessed Martyrs were all converted to the Catholick Faith by that learned Saint, Doctor Egidio; and did, both in their Lives and at their Deaths discover themselves to be Sons not unworthy of such a ghostly Father. The Doctrines they suffered Martyrdom for professing, were,

1. *That the Worship of the Church of Rome was idolatrous.*
2. *That the Pope was Anti-Christ.*
3. *That Men were justified by Faith, and not by Works.*

DR. CONSTANTINO PONTIO.

Dr. Constantino Pontio, Chaplain, and as some say, Confessor to the Emperor Charles the V. and Canon and Preacher of the Cathedral of Sevil, was after that Prince's Resignation of his Crowns, and Retreat to Spain, taken up by the Inquisition

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sition of that City, as a Protestant Here-tick ; and who having died in the Prisons of the Inquisition, the Inquisitors best knew how, his Body with divers of his Books in Manuscript were brought out and burnt in an *Act of the Faith*: Among his Books that were burnt, one bore the Title of *An Account of the True Christian*, which he maintained the *Protestant* to be; and, *Of the Antichristian Church*, which he proved was the *Roman*. There was likewise among his Books a Treatise *against Purgatory and Indulgences*. A second Treatise against *Transubstantiation*, and a third, against the *Merit of good Works*.

This learned Doctor was ordered by the Emperor to attend his Son, Prince *Philip*, in Quality of his Preacher, into *Flanders*, on purpose to let the *Flemings* see that *Spain*, at that time, was not without its polite Scholars and Orators. And so in the History of the Prince's Voyage, printed at *Madrid* in *Spanish*, in the Year 1550. Doctor *Constantino* his Preacher is said to be, *The greatest Philosopher, the most profound Divine, and the most eloquent Preacher, that had been in Spain in many Ages.*

Which just Character of this great Saint was, after he was condemned as a Protestant, by the Inquisition, by Order of the

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Index Expurgatorius blotted out of that History; and on this Passage the *Expurgator* of the Book, which is in my Hands, was so liberal of his Ink, that I had much ado to read it.

Here the Reader is to take notice, that among the other vile Arts practised by the Church of *Rome*, to support the Credit of her gross Errors, one is, that she will not allow any that have been her Adversaries, ever to have had any sort of Learning; as if it were not possible for any that had any degree of Learning, to doubt of the Truth of any of her Doctrines: And so if in any of the Books permitted to be read by the *Index Expurgatorius*, *Erasmus*, *Calvin*, *Scaliger*, *Grotius*, *Casaubon*, or any other Protestant Writers, do happen to be honoured with the Title of Learned, that Title must be blotted out, as a thing that did not belong to them.

It is reported, That the Emperor *Charles* the V. when he heard of his Chaplain Dr. *Constantino* being taken up by the Inquisition, should say, *If Constantino be an Heretick, he is not an ordinary one*; alluding to his extraordinary Piety and Devotion, as well as Learning.

JOHN

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JOHN GONSALVO, a Secular Priest.

Father *John Gonsalvo*, a pious and fervent Preacher, and who was converted to the *Catholick Faith* by Dr. *Egidio*, was burnt at the same Time and Place with his dear and intimate Friend *Don John de Leon*; to which blessed Couple, what was said of *Saul* and *Jonathan* may be properly applied: *They were pleasant and lovely in their Lives, and in their Deaths they were not divided.*

This blessed Saint, as he was going to the Stake, began to sing the 109. *Psalms*, but being commanded to give over singing, he obey'd, well knowing, that if he had not he should not have been permitted to speak a Word more; and having when he came to the Stake observed, that one of his Sisters, who was to be burnt with him, looked much dejected, he cry'd out to her, *Be of good Courage, dear Sister, and keep the Faith*; but as he was going on with his Exhortation, the Officers ordered him to be strangled, pretending that he meant the Faith of the *Roman Church*: And thus Policy, when nothing else can, will make Inquisitors be merciful: For the Truth is, the Inquisitors finding the People much affected with the admirable Courage and

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Constancy of Mind wherewith the Protestant Martyrs did suffer the most painful of all Deaths, being burnt, or rather roasted alive, they began to fear the Consequence of entertaining them daily with such dangerous Spectacles; and for that Reason, until those great Examples were pretty well forgot, they either strangled the Protest before they burnt them, pretending they had at the Stake desired to be reconciled to the *Roman Church*; or having died in the Inquisition, they burnt them in *Effigy*.

JULIANO FERNANDO.

Juliano Fernando, who for his low Stature and thin Body was commonly called *Little Julian*, was taken up by the Inquisition of *Sevil*, for having imported and dispersed great Numbers of *Spanish Libels*, which had been printed in *Germany*. And tho' it is a hard matter to know any thing that passeth within the Walls of the Inquisition, we are told by some that were in its Prisons at the same time with this Saint, that they once heard him, as he pass'd by the Doors of their Prisons, cry out, *Vencidos van los Frayles, vencidos van*, that is, *The Friars are baffled, they are baffled*: And at another time, *Curridoz van*

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van los lobos, curridos van, that is, *The Wolves do fly, they do fly*. And in the Morning before he was to be burnt, meeting with a great number of Protestants in the Hall where their flaming Habits were put on, he cry'd out to them, *Dear Brethren and Sisters, be of good Courage, and triumph over Death*. And having thereupon been gagg'd all Day, a certain Priest, whose Name was *Ferrando Rodriguez*, and who formerly had himself been well inclined to the Protestant Religion, when that Saint was brought to the Stake, desired he might be ungagged, boasting, that he should be able to persuade him to be reconciled to the *Romish Church*; which he was so far from being able to do, that that Saint, after he had with great Patience heard all that that Priest was able to say to him, answered him with a holy zeal, *Thou Apostate, how darest thou, contrary to the Convictions of thy own Conscience, go about to persuade me to save my Life by abjuring the Truth?* with which severe Reproof that Apostate was so enraged, that he cry'd aloud; *Shall Spain, the Conqueror of Nations, have its Peace disturb'd by such a Dwarf as this? Executioner, burn that incorrigible Heretick*, which was done immediately; one of the Officers that stood by having, either out of Compassion or
Fury,

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Fury, given him a dreadful Blow on the Head with a Pole, amidst the Flames.

Father JOHN DE LEON.

John de Leon, a Monk of *St. Isidore*, in the City of *Sevil*, having been converted by Doctor *Egidio* to the Catholick Faith, did, with several more Monks of the same Monastery, and who were likewise Protestants, make his Escape to *Frankfort* in *Germany*; and not thinking himself safe there, he went to *Geneva*, and there remained, till Queen *Mary* of *England's* Death: When being invited by the *English* Refugees to go along with them to *England*, he kindly accepted of that brotherly Invitation; but having escaped the Traps which had been laid for him, and the other *Spanish* Refugees, at *Cologne*, and other Places in *Germany*, he, and one *John Fernai-del* another *Spanish* Confessor, was discovered at *Middleburgh* in *Zealand*, which was then under the *Spanish* Dominion, as they were ready to have imbarqu'd there for *England*.

And having been told by the Officer that seized him, *That he was the Man he looked for*, he turned about to his Companion, and said, *Come Brother, let us go,*
God

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God calls us to suffer for his Gospel ; if we do not forsake God, he will not forsake us.

This Saint, after having been carried to Prison, and racked there to make him discover the Places where the rest of the *Spanish* Refugees absconded themselves, was put aboard a Ship, which carried him to *Sevil*, having been kept in Chains and gagg'd all the Voyage, but when he eat his Victuals, which was nothing but dry Bread and Water : He was likewise brought gagg'd out of the Inquisition, and so continued until he was burnt, without discovering any thing that looked like Fear or Uneasiness.

Dr. C R I S T O P H E R L O S A D A.

Christopher Losada, an eminent Physician, was burnt at the same time for being a Protestant, who, as all the rest did, suffered Death with a Joy and Unconcernedness, that amazed all that beheld it.

I am apt to think, that the unhappy *Michael Servetus*, the most eminent Physician of his Age, was one of the *Spanish* Refugees of this Persecution ; but wherever that unhappy Man learnt the Heresies for which he was put to Death at *Geneva*, certain it is, that he did not bring them
out

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out of *Spain* with him; none that were put to Death in that Kingdom for being Protestants, having by their Adversaries ever been charged with any of his Heresies.

CHRISTOPHER AURELIO.

Christopher Aurelio, an eminent School Divine, and who by reading the Scriptures had been converted to the *Catholick Faith*, was burnt in the same *Act of the Faith*, triumphing over Death as a conquered Enemy.

GARSIAS ARIAS.

Garfias Arias, a Monk of St. *Isidore*, and who was commonly called Dr. *Blanco*, did, like St. *Paul*, of a violent Persecutor turn a zealous Professor of the *Catholick Faith*, for the Testimony whereof he was burnt at *Sevil*, rejoicing that God had thought him worthy to suffer for so good a Cause. This Monastery of St. *Isidore* was the great *Seminary* of the *Protestant Religion* in Spain, five Monks having been taken out of it by the Inquisition and burnt; and twelve having made their Escape out of it, repaired to *Geneva*,

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FERDINANDO à SANCTO JOHANNE

Ferdinando à Sancto Johanne, who, though but a young man when he was burnt, had been eight Years a Professor of Humanity in St. *Isidore's* College in *Sevil*; he was a Person of great Zeal and Devotion, and was brought gagg'd out of the Inquisition, and continued so till he was burnt, praising God with his Eyes and Hands, not being permitted to praise him with his Lips.

DONNA MARIA BOHORQUIA.

Donna Maria Bohorquia, a young Lady of such admirable Knowledge and Piety, that Dr. *Egidio* did use to say, *That none could discourse with her of Divine Matters (and she did not care to talk of any other) without being made both wiser and better by her*: When she was but a Girl, she learnt Latin to be able to read the Bible, which in *Spain* was not at that time to be met with in any other Language, and having by indefatigable Study in a short time acquired so much Skill in that Tongue, as to be able to hear the Divine Oracles
1 speak-

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speaking in it to her Conscience, she so applied her self to them, that she had the whole Bible almost by Heart; neither did she, after she had once tasted of that, ever care to read in any other. When she was brought out of the Inquisition to be burnt, with an heavenly Joy spread all over her Countenance, she began to sing Praises to God with a most melodious Voice; and having, when forbid, refused to give over singing, she was gagged and continued so till she was brought to the Stake. But the Friars, dreading the ill Effects her Example, both in her Life and at her Death might have on the Minds of the People, if they believed her to die a Protestant, cry'd out after she was fastned to the Stake, *She is converted, and desires before she dies to be reconciled to the Church of Rome.* And so pretending to give her Absolution, she was immediately strangled, and burnt.

(There were a great many more Women, and several of them of high Quality, burnt at this time both at *Valledolid* and at *Sevil*, for being Protestants; and who being all learned in the Scriptures, the Inquisitors, who are all utter Strangers to those Divine Books, were not able to discourse with them about the Truths revealed in those Oracles of God: This provoked *Paramus*,
a fu-

a furious *Spanish* Inquisitor, to declaim vehemently against Women's being suffered to read the Bible, and against the Protestant Religion likewise, for permitting Women, contrary to St. *Paul's* Prohibition, to speak in their publick Assemblies of Worship: As if Women that studied the Scriptures could not forbear to take the Ministerial Office upon them; and as if the Protestant Religion, when they are so qualified, did allow them to do it; whereas in Truth, no People are so far from assuming any of the Ministerial Functions, as those who are most conversant in the Scriptures, which do expressly condemn that Presumption; neither did any of the *Spanish* Protestant Laity, Men or Women, ever take upon them to preach in the Assemblies of their Worship, nor did any of their Teachers ever allow the doing of it to be lawful. But thus the Inquisitors, as I have observed, do make no Conscience of calumniating those they burn, and of loading the Religion for which they suffer with unjust, and many times inconsistent Reproaches.

The blessed Saints I have here named, tho' they were the Leaders, were for number but a small part of that glorious Army of *Spanish* Protestant Martyrs burnt at this time by the Inquisition; and who
for

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for the exemplary Piety of their Lives,
and the admirable Patience and Courage
wherewith they triumphed over Death,
in the most terrible of all its Shapes, were
nothing inferior to the Martyrs of any
other Nation in any Age.

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